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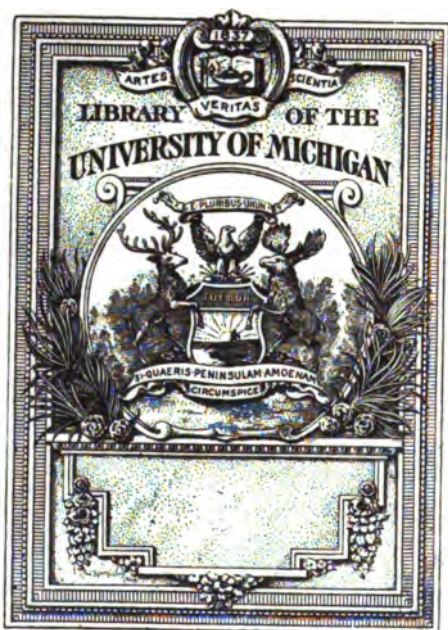
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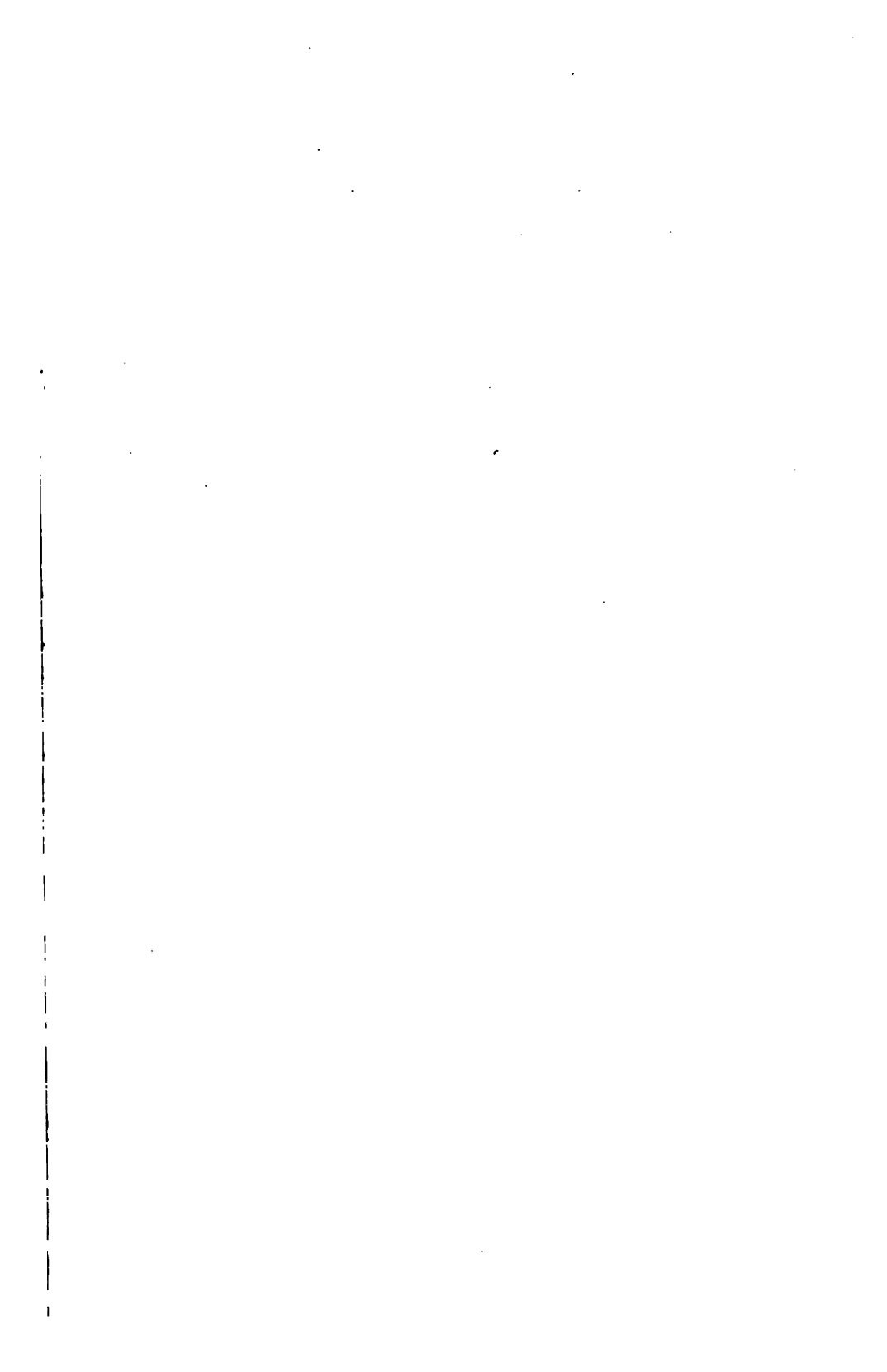
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AT MIDNIGHT.

THE voice of all the hollow, desolate sky
 On this wild wind is blown ;
The wail of earth's desire and agony
 Sobs in this wild wind's moan ;
And there is yet another heavier sigh,
 Heard of the heart alone.

This echoed through the midmost core of mirth
 Since mortal mirth began ;
Hearing, we know that all the feast is dearth,
 And all red roses wan.
O God ! for the new heavens, and the new earth,
 And the new heart of man !

G. A. CHADWICK.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

I. THE SYNOPTIST GOSPELS.

THE purpose of these papers is to reproduce from the documents preserved for us in the New Testament the conception or conceptions of their various writers about the death of Christ and its relation to His work and to the kingdom of God; in order thus to determine as accurately and as fully as possible the position of the Death of Christ in God's eternal purpose of salvation.

With this aim I shall in this first paper endeavour to reproduce Christ's own thoughts about His own death as these found expression in the discourses recorded in the Synoptist Gospels. This will give us one definite type of tradition about the teaching of Christ. In a second paper I shall attempt to reproduce the very different type contained in the Fourth Gospel. We shall thus obtain, from two independent sources, the conception of the purpose of His own approaching death which was attributed to Christ by His early followers. In a third paper I shall consider the teaching of the Galilæan Apostles as expounded by them in their discourses recorded in the Book of Acts and as set forth in other documents of the New Testament. This will give us Christ's teaching as reflected in the thought of His earliest disciples after He had risen from the dead.

We shall then pass to the teaching embodied in the Epistles of St. Paul, a very marked type of teaching much more developed, in reference to the matter before us, than that contained in the rest of the New Testament, and evidently moulded by the writer's mental constitution and social surroundings. This conception of the purpose and effect of the Death of Christ we must carefully study, and

endeavour to comprehend as a whole. The abundant and important teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews will next claim our attention. These various types of teaching we shall compare as we pass along. And we shall find that the teaching peculiar to St. Paul is the key to all the other teaching in the New Testament about the Death of Christ, giving to it unity and making it intelligible. This peculiar teaching of St. Paul we shall then study in its relation to whatever else we know about sin, about God's moral government of the world, and about the future destiny of man. We shall thus follow the teaching of the New Testament so far as it will guide us; and from that point we will look for a moment at the great problems which the writers of the New Testament have left unsolved for the reverent study of the servants of Christ in future ages.

We shall afterwards say a few words about certain modern opinions on this all-important subject; and conclude this series of papers by a review of the results attained.

It will not be needful to assume either the Divine authority of the New Testament or the correctness of the accounts therein given of the teaching of Christ. We shall test and use the documents of the New Testament as we should any other similar writings. This method will enable us to meet on common ground some who are not prepared to accept as decisive the teaching of the Bible. Moreover, our research will discover valuable evidence of the correctness of the picture of the teaching of Christ contained in the New Testament. Thus our study of the Death of Christ will strengthen our proof of the truth of the Gospel which He died to proclaim.

Of the Four Gospels, the First and Fourth are by all early Christian writers attributed to Apostles of Christ, and to the same two Apostles; and the Second and Third Gospels to known companions of Apostles. So expressly

Irenæus, who in A.D. 180 became bishop of Lyons, in bk. iii. 9-11 of his great work *Against Heresies*. Abundant quotations prove that he had the Gospels in a form practically the same as that which we now possess. This traditional authorship is accepted by all early Christian writers in all parts of the world from the second century onwards. Their agreement proves that the Gospels were then ancient. And that these four accounts of the life of Christ and no others were everywhere accepted as authoritative and in some sense official, and that without a trace of difference of opinion the same authors' names were always attached to them, reveals their unique position in early Christian literature. This proof is strengthened by many quotations in the writings of Justin, who lived in the middle of the second century, which show that he and his contemporaries had an account of the teaching of Christ practically identical with that contained in the Synoptist Gospels.

We now turn to these early records of the teaching of Christ.

Very conspicuous in each of the Synoptist Gospels is the incident narrated in Matthew xvi. 13-28, Mark viii. 27-ix. 1, Luke ix. 18-27. Christ has drawn His disciples far away from the temple courts at Jerusalem and from the crowded shores of the Lake of Gennesaret in order, amid the solitudes overshadowed by the snows of Hermon, to reveal to them truths not yet made known. But before doing this He inquires whether the truths already taught have been learnt. The Master asks, "Whom do men say that I am?" Peter's answer is ready: and he does but express the thought of all. "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." His reply proclaims that, although the significance of the wonderful works of Christ has not been recognised by the mass of the nation, it has been recognised by the group of disciples around Him to-day.

This satisfactory answer is at once followed by a new

revelation. "From that time began Jesus to show to His disciples that He must needs go away to Jerusalem, and suffer many things from the elders and chief-priests and scribes, and be put to death, and the third day be raised." Our Lord goes on to say that, not only must He be crucified, but "if any one wishes to come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me."

Here is a Man who has not yet reached His prime, and is apparently in health and strength, saying that necessity compels Him to go away from Galilee, where He has many friends, to Jerusalem, and there be put to death by the leaders of His nation. In other words, Christ not only foresees His own violent death but is resolved to make a long journey, and to put Himself in the hands of those who, as He knows, will kill Him. He thus sets aside as inapplicable to Himself a command given (Matt. x. 23) to His disciples, "When they persecute you in this city, flee to another." He did so under a special necessity, conspicuously asserted in each of the Synoptist Gospels: *δεῖ αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν . . . καὶ ἀποκτανθῆναι*.

We ask with reverence, Wherein lay the necessity which compelled the great Teacher to throw away, apparently, the most valuable life on earth, thus setting an example which He, Himself the great Example, forbids His disciples to imitate? To answer this question, so far as He who gave His Son to die for us may shed light upon the purpose of His own gift, is the difficult task now before us.

The words just quoted cannot be explained by the young Teacher's own foresight of the deadly hostility which He knew that His teaching would arouse. For this would not account for His going to Jerusalem, the city of His foes. By going where He knows that men will kill Him, He deliberately laid down His life. And He tells us that all this was needful. We notice also that in each of the Synoptist Gospels Christ's death is, in His own thought,

to be followed by resurrection. This suggests irresistibly that to Him death and resurrection were means needful to attain some further end. We ask what it is.

In Matthew xvii. 12, Mark ix. 12 Christ again announces that suffering awaits Him. Similarly in Matthew xvii. 22, 23, Mark ix. 31, and less fully in Luke ix. 44, He foretells that He will be surrendered into the hands of men, and that they will kill Him, and that He will rise from the dead. In Matthew xx. 18, 19, Mark x. 33, 34, Luke xviii. 31, 32, He repeats the announcement. This repetition throws into conspicuous prominence His approaching death. It is the more remarkable, because up to this point we have no indication of hostility so deadly and so powerful as to close up, even to a young and popular teacher, all hope of escape.

Immediately after the words just quoted Christ says, in reply to an ambitious request from the sons of Zebedee or from their mother, in Matthew xx. 21 and Mark x. 38, "Are ye able to drink the cup which I am about to drink?" Mark adds, "and to be baptized with the Baptism with which I am to be baptized." These words imply that to Christ and to those to whom He speaks there is no way to the throne except by drinking "the cup" and receiving "the Baptism." They are followed, and in some measure explained, by another assertion, given word for word in the First and Second Gospels: "The Son of Man did not come to be ministered to, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many."

The word *λύτρον*, or *ransom*, denotes always a price or means by which one is set free from captivity, affliction, or obligation. The cognate verb *λυτρόω* is very common in the LXX., always in the sense of setting free. Both words are common in classical Greek for the liberation of captives by a price paid. So Deuteronomy vii. 8: "The Lord brought you out with a strong hand, and the Lord *ransomed* thee from the house of bondage, from the hand of

Pharaoh king of Egypt." Also chaps. ix. 26, xiii. 5, xv. 15, xxi. 8, xxiv. 18, 2 Samuel vii. 23, 1 Chronicles xvii. 21, Nehemiah i. 10. In all these places, the idea of rescue is conspicuous, and obscures that of price. So David says, in 2 Samuel iv. 9, "The Lord liveth who has *ransomed* my soul from all affliction."

The substantive used in the passage now before us is found in Proverbs xiii. 8, "A man's own wealth is the *ransom* of his life;" *i.e.* money may save a man from death. If so, the money is the means of escape from the gates of the grave. And in all human thought a costly means is the price paid for the result attained. Still more definite is Proverbs vi. 35: an injured husband "will not give up his enmity for any *ransom*." No payment of money will pacify him.

The same substantive in the plural is sometimes, and the cognate verb is frequently, used in the LXX. in reference to that on which the Mosaic Law had a claim, but which was released for a price or substitute. For instance, God claimed the firstborn, but waived His claim on payment of five shekels each. So Exodus xiii. 13: "I sacrifice every firstborn male to the Lord; and every firstborn of my sons I will *ransom*" (λυτρώσομαι). Also Numbers xviii. 15, 16: "Every firstborn, so many as they offer to the Lord, from man to beast, shall be thine; except that the firstborn of men shall be *ransomed* with *ransoms* (λύτροις, λυτρωθήσεται): and the firstborn of the unclean cattle thou shalt *ransom*." The word may be studied in Leviticus xxv. 25, 30, 33, 48, 49, 54; xxvii. 13-33. In all these places the word denotes the liberation for ordinary use of that on which the Law had a claim.

Christ asserts in Matthew xx. 28, Mark x. 45, that He "came . . . to give His life a *ransom* for many." This can only mean that He came into the world, or less likely, that He came out of obscurity into public life, in order

to die; and in order that His death might be a means of releasing many from bondage or affliction, or from an obligation they could not discharge.

The words just expounded imply, and are implied in, the necessity for the death of Christ asserted in Matthew xvi. 21. For the idea of price always involves necessity. We pay a price because we cannot otherwise obtain the object we desire. That the life of Christ is called the ransom-price of our salvation implies that we could not otherwise have been saved. Moreover, whatever we do in order to attain a result otherwise unattainable, we speak of as a price paid for the object we desire.

The verb *λυτροῦσθαι* is found again in Luke xxiv. 21, in the lips of the disciples going to Emmaus: "We were hoping that it was He that is about to *ransom* Israel."

The murder of the Master's Son is the climax of the parable recorded in Matthew xxi. 39, Mark xii. 8, Luke xx. 15.

The institution of the Lord's Supper next claims our attention.

The great Prophet has fulfilled His purpose of going to Jerusalem. In an upper room He has had supper with His disciples. At the close of the meal, He takes a small loaf of bread, probably similar to those found at Pompeii. He breaks it, and while doing so says, "Take, eat: this is My body." Evidently He means that something is about to happen to His body like that which before His disciples' eyes was happening to the bread. He then takes the cup, and after thanksgiving hands it to His disciples, saying, as recorded in Matthew xxvi. 27, 28, Mark xiv. 23, 24, "This is My blood of the Covenant which is being shed for many"; or, as the First Gospel adds, "for forgiveness of sins." According to Luke xxii. 20, 1 Corinthians xi. 25, He said, "This cup is the New Covenant in My blood." All accounts agree in the breaking of the bread, which is

called the body of Christ. And all speak of His blood, either as being shed for many, or as the basis of a new Covenant between God and man.

Take them as we will, these words are a deliberate and forcible announcement by the young Teacher, who in health and in the prime of life, and in freedom, reclines among His disciples, that He is about to suffer a violent death. Moreover, while living and well, He institutes a ceremony to commemorate His approaching death. Such an institution, ordained under such circumstances, is unique in the history of the world. Commemorations of the death of a martyr or a hero are not unfrequent. But we never heard of one enjoined by the martyr himself; and especially while in liberty and health. Moreover, generally or always, commemorations of a violent death have been incitements to vengeance. But of vengeance we have no trace here. And the name, *Eucharist*, given to the rite from very early days, suggests only gratitude to God.

Looking again at the words of institution as recorded by Luke and Paul, we find Christ saying, "This cup is the New Covenant in My blood." These words recall at once Jeremiah xxxi. 31: "Behold, days are coming, saith Jehovah, and I will make with the house of Israel and with the house of Judah a new covenant; not like the covenant which I made with their fathers in the day when I took hold of their hand to bring them forth from the land of Egypt, which My covenant they broke: . . . because this is the covenant which I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith Jehovah, I will put My Law within them, and upon their heart I will write it, and will be to them for a God, and they shall be to Me for a people: . . . because I will forgive their guilt, and their sin I will remember no more." Manifestly Christ meant to say that the day foreseen from afar by Jeremiah had at last come, that God was about to enter into a new relation with man,

and that this new relation was in some way to be brought about by the violent death which Christ was about to suffer.

Practically the same is the account given in Matthew xxvi. 28: "This is the blood of the covenant, which is being shed for many for forgiveness of sins." Here again we have reference to a covenant between God and man. Again the covenant stands in close relation to the approaching and violent death of Christ. For His blood, about to be shed, is "the blood of the Covenant." It is to be shed "for many, for forgiveness of sins." We notice also that forgiveness was promised in Jeremiah's prophecy of the New Covenant. All accounts agree to represent Christ as announcing His own violent death, and this occupying an important relation to the salvation of man.

Christ's words at the institution of the Supper shed light upon those recorded in Matthew xx. 28. For sin separates us from God, and gives us up to ruinous bondage. If Christ brings us into friendly relation to God, He thereby rescues us from the bondage of sin. That in order to do so His life, implies that our rescue could not have been accomplished by any other means. And, if not, then was His life the ransom price of our salvation. From Matthew xxvi. 27, we learn that the necessity for this costly ransom lay in man's sin.

The great importance of the death of Christ is made very conspicuous by the long and detailed account of His crucifixion given in each of the four Gospels.

The absolute necessity for the death of Christ is again asserted after His resurrection by the angels at His tomb, as recorded in Luke xxiv. 7; and by the risen Saviour Himself to the disciples going to Emmaus, in ver. 26.

That salvation through the death of Christ is not mentioned in the great inaugural address which we call the Sermon on the Mount, or in the group of parables contained in Matthew xiii., is explained by the statement in

chap. xvi. 21 that Christ reserved this teaching until His hearers had learnt His superhuman dignity. He began His teaching by asserting with authority, and expounding, the broad principles of morality on which rests all religion. He then claimed authority to forgive sins, and claimed to be Lord of angels and Judge of all men. Lastly, He announced that the Judge must die for those on whom He will one day pronounce sentence. Only in this order, and at intervals, could His teaching be understood.

It is now evident that the three Synoptist Gospels present one harmonious conception of the death of Christ. They agree to represent Him as frequently and deliberately purposing to go to Jerusalem in order to put Himself into the hands of enemies who, He knows, will kill Him. He speaks of this self-surrender as a binding necessity which must determine His action. This necessity He somewhat explains by a subsequent assertion that His life is a ransom-price for many, and that He came in order to pay that price. It is still further explained by an announcement, that His blood, which is about to be shed, is to be the basis of a new covenant between God and man, a covenant offering to men forgiveness of sins. The importance thus given to His approaching death He sets in clearest light by ordaining a remarkable rite in order to keep it ever before the eyes of His servants. The importance of His death is further maintained by a full account of His crucifixion.

To sum up. The Synoptist Gospels teach that man's salvation comes through Christ's violent death; that to save us He deliberately laid down His life; and that the need for this costly means of salvation lay in man's sin.

In other papers we shall compare this conception of the death of Christ with that presented in other parts of the New Testament.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE JOHANNEAN CONTROVERSY.

III. RELATION TO THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

As I am just entering upon an examination of the internal evidence supplied by the Fourth Gospel, it may be well for me to preface the remarks I am about to make by explaining my silence upon a point which some may think an essential one. Neither in this paper nor in those which follow do I propose to say anything about the possibility of the supernatural, or the *a priori* credibility of narratives which imply the supernatural. I do this, not because I take it absolutely for granted, but because I think that if we are to set about a systematic and scientific examination of the grounds of the Christian faith, this question of the supernatural is in logical order the last with which we ought to deal, and because, so far as the subject matter of these papers is concerned, we are not yet in a position to deal with it satisfactorily. No doubt there are persons who cannot afford to wait for the solution of so momentous a question. To such I would strongly recommend the second of Mr. Gore's *Bampton Lectures*, or an excellent work entitled *Grounds of Theistic and Christian Belief*, by Dr. G. P. Fisher, of Yale. But to those who are content to take what I cannot but think the more excellent way of prolonging their inquiry, and breaking it up into its several steps and stages, I would submit that the proper order is this: First, to determine what documents we can use, and how far we can use them; then, by the help of these documents, to determine as nearly as we can what are the historical facts; and, lastly, and not until that has been done, to consider the cause of those facts, and how far it transcends, or does not transcend, our common experience.

Our present inquiry belongs to the first of these stages.

We are simply trying to ascertain who was the author of one of our documents; and this can quite well be done, as I think it ought to be done, without raising the question of the supernatural. If the Gospel ascribed to St. John is not genuine *with* the supernatural, it will be not genuine *without* it. If it is not genuine, there must surely be other indications that it is not genuine besides the mere presence of miracles. There are certainly a multitude of other *data* which point one way or the other. And my contention is, that when we have thoroughly examined all those other *data*, it will be time, and the proper time, to raise the question of the supernatural. We put it on one side for the present, not because we are not prepared to meet it, or because we cannot, even as it is, give a rough and ready answer to it, but because at that future date of which I speak we shall be able to approach it with far greater firmness, sureness, and precision.

Measured by the standard of the Synoptics, objection has been taken to the Fourth Gospel on five—or throwing in a subordinate point which it may be convenient to treat here, we may say six—main grounds: (1) That the scene of our Lord's ministry is laid for the most part in Judæa rather than in Galilee; (2) that its duration is extended over some two and a half years instead of one; (3) that in particular a different day, Nisan 14th instead of 15th, is assigned to the crucifixion; (4) that there is a further discrepancy of no great moment in connexion with this which involves however the question of the evangelist's reckoning of the hours of the day; (5) that the historical narrative is wanting in development and progression, especially on the important point of our Lord's declaration of His Messiahship; (6) that this goes along with a general heightening of His claims.

Of these six points the first three may be said to be

practically given up. The fourth is really indifferent, though I should be glad to say a few words upon it. It is on the last two that the criticism which is adverse to St. John's authorship concentrates itself most tenaciously, and on these therefore that it will be well for us to give our best attention.

1 & 2. With reference to the scene of our Lord's ministry, and the repeated journeys from Galilee to Judæa, Schürer's judgment is as follows :

"It is well known that the Synoptics only speak of a ministry of Jesus in Galilee, and do not make Him go to Judæa until the last period before His death. The Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, makes Him come forward at the very beginning in Judæa, and then and several times travel backwards and forwards between Judæa and Galilee, and that in such a way as to give the preponderance to Judæa. Now Baur tried to explain all the particulars of this coming and going in St. John as dependent on the design which the evangelist had in view. It cannot be said that this explanation has proved satisfactory. On the other hand, Bleek pointed out that a repeated sojourn of Jesus in Judæa was in itself quite probable, and indeed that many indications in the Synoptics themselves were in its favour. In the more recent treatises there has not been so much stress laid upon this point as Baur and Bleek assigned to it. Rightly so, because it cannot be decisive. The Synoptic version is in this respect so vague, that in no case can it count as an adverse argument. But if the Johannean version is to be preferred, that proves no more than that the author had access to independent traditions."¹

True, there are both possibilities, that the author drew from his own memory, and that he drew from a good tradition. But in any case this point at least must be set down to his credit; it is an argument not against but for the historical character of the Gospel, as far as it goes.

That St. John is right about this Judæan ministry is surely overwhelmingly probable. The silence of the Synoptics, and the detailed allusions to such a ministry, have been excellently treated by Dr. Westcott² and other English commentators; but I doubt if they have quite

¹ *Vortrag*, p. 61 f.

² Page lxxvii, ff.

laid sufficient stress on the broad probabilities of the case. That the Messiah should offer Himself to His people, and only spend the last week of His life at the centre of the national life and the national religion is too great a paradox. If He was aware, as His own lips tell us, that it could not be "that a prophet perish out of Jerusalem,"¹ can we believe that He would have been satisfied only to perish there? Was it not further true, as St. John hints, that Jerusalem was the proper home of the prophets? Had not the Jew—the genuine Jew, and not merely the Galilæan—that prerogative right on which St. Paul so often insists (*Ιουδαίῳ πρῶτον*) to the offer of the gospel? Was it not included in that deep, underlying necessity which marked out the lines of the Lord's manifestation, that He should really go to the heart of Israel and make Himself known there? A number of details in the events of the last week—the crowds that come out to meet Him at the entry into Jerusalem; the prompt recognition of His commands by the owners of the ass's colt and of the upper room; His own words, "I sat daily in the temple"; the solicitude of men like Joseph of Arimathæa—imply that He had so made Himself known there. But these details do not stand alone; if the Fourth Gospel had not come down to us at all, we might have been sure that on this question of the scene of the ministry the Synoptic Gospels were incomplete.

By one little detail they seem to show that they are equally incomplete as to the time which it occupied. When the disciples pluck the ears of corn, quite early in the Galilæan ministry, that means that the corn was ripe, but not reaped. In other words, the time was between Passover and Pentecost.² This fits in well with St. John's statement (vi. 4), that one intermediate Passover was spent in

¹ Luke xiii. 33.

² P. Ewald, *Hauptproblem*, etc., p. 52; McClellan, *Gospels*, p. 553.

Galilee. I am aware that Dr. Hort strains every nerve to eject τὸ πάσχα from this verse. This is quite the strongest piece of argument I know in favour of the one year's ministry. But at the end of his long and important note, I do not gather that even Dr. Hort would contend for more than that the omission should be noted in the margin; and that with full consciousness of the weaknesses of readings which rest on patristic evidence alone, without support from MSS. and versions. We may add, on patristic evidence which is entirely indirect and inferential. Dr. Westcott in his commentary argues for the retention of the words.

The case stands thus: If we could get rid of the words τὸ πάσχα, the Johannean and Synoptic chronologies could be easily harmonized. But even with the words they can still be harmonized; the simple fact being that the Synoptic Gospels are only a series of incidents loosely strung together, with no chronology at all worthy of the name.

3. In regard to the day of the Last Supper and of the crucifixion, they have something better than a chronology. They do not say expressly on what day of the month these two events took place; but they let it appear by incidental allusions that the Last Supper was the Paschal meal, and that it therefore fell on the evening of Nisan 14-15 (the Jewish day beginning at dusk), and the crucifixion in the afternoon of the day following, still called Nisan 15. In St. John both events are to all appearance put back one day: the Last Supper falls on Nisan 13-14, and the crucifixion in the afternoon, as Nisan 14 is ending.

What are we to say to this? Schürer once more sums up with judicial fairness.

"The arguments (he says) in favour as well of the one interpretation as of the other are so weighty, that a cautious person will hardly venture with full confidence to pronounce either the one or the other to be right."¹

¹ *Vortrag*, p. 63.

The advocate of the genuineness of the Fourth Gospel may well be content with this verdict. The case is certainly one of those which are more common than we might consider antecedently probable, where of two conclusions one only can be right, and yet a really substantial case may be made out for each. The question is, which can be interpreted into agreement with the other with the least forcing? When I wrote on this Gospel twenty years ago, I argued strongly in favour of the *prima facie* sense of St. John. I have not even now formed an opinion which I should regard as absolutely final; but if I were to express the opinion to which I incline at this moment, it would be rather the other way. The considerations on which this different estimate turns are these. (1) I am inclined to rate more highly the indirect evidence that the Supper described in the Synoptics is really the Paschal meal. (2) I satisfied myself with too little inquiry that St. John's phrase, "to eat the Passover" (φαγεῖν τὸ πάσχα), must refer to the eating of the Paschal lamb. With our associations it is natural to think this, and I have before me a monograph of Schürer's in which this view is held. But Dr. Schürer's opinion is challenged by a higher authority on such a point even than his—Dr. Edersheim.¹ It appears to be certain that the term "Passover" was applied, not merely to the Paschal lamb, but to all the sacrifices of the Paschal feast, especially to the *Chagigah*, or peace offering brought on Nisan 15. It appears also to be proved that the Pharisees by entering a heathen house would be debarred from eating there, but not debarred from eating the Passover in the narrowest sense, because their defilement would only last till evening, *after* which the Supper commenced. Dr. Edersheim puts it thus :

"No competent Jewish archæologist would care to deny that *Pesach* may refer to the *Chagigah*; while the motive assigned to the

¹ *Life and Times*, etc., vol. ii., p. 566 ff., ed. 4.

Sanhedrists by St. John implies that in this instance it *must* refer to this, and not to the Paschal Lamb."¹

Many other writers, notably Wieseler and McClellan, have argued ably to the same effect.² (3) I was also too hasty in assuming that the day when the Paschal lamb was sacrificed would be marked by a more complete cessation from work and trade than the other days. As a fact, it was not so strictly kept as the Sabbath. Work was stopped, but not traffic. There would be no obstacle either to Judas buying *Chagigah*, or to Joseph of Arimathea and the women procuring linen and spices.³ It seems probable that Simon of Cyrene, like so many other pilgrims, lodged outside the city, and was coming in to the temple worship, not from work.

The other difficulties are not serious. *Παρασκευή* alone had come to be the regular Jewish word for "Friday," and *παρασκευὴ τοῦ πάσχα*⁴ may be quite as well "Friday in Paschal week" as the "day of preparation for the Pass-over." Or rather, the latter interpretation must be considered extremely doubtful, if, as it is asserted by McClellan and Wieseler, there is no example of the phrase bearing that sense. We should also expect the article in the latter case, not in the former. Another point on which I laid some stress, *πρὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς τοῦ πάσχα* (John xiii. 1), I do not think will hold. It is a rather remarkable peculiarity of the Fourth Gospel that it brings into close juxtaposition events, or events and sayings, which so near together seem almost to contradict each other. For instance, at the marriage-feast at Cana, our Lord is made

¹ *Life and Times*, etc., p. 568.

² Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 242 ff.; McClellan, *Gospels*, p. 486 ff.

³ See the Talmudic references in Nösgen, *Gesch. d. Neutest. Offenb.*, vol. i., p. 579; Dillmann-Knobel on Exod. xii. 16; Edersheim, *Life and Times*, p. 508 n., and App. xvii., p. 783.

⁴ See ref. to Josephus in McClellan on Matt. xxvii. 62, and the note on John xix. 14; also p. 485.

to say, "My hour" (*i.e.* for working miracles) "is not yet come," though a few minutes later He acts as if His "hour" had come; in vii. 8 (according to the reading which is perhaps, on the whole, more probable), He is made to say that He will not go up to the Feast of Tabernacles, yet He does go up in time to arrive at the middle of the feast. So here I think it quite possible that "before the Feast of the Passover" may mean an hour or so before, and not a whole day before.

On these grounds I now incline to harmonize St. John with the Synoptics; but I feel that the casting vote upon the question must be reserved for specialists in Jewish antiquities. In any case, there is nothing to prevent the account in the Fourth Gospel from being written by an Apostle.

4. Another smaller question of the same kind, which it may be well to touch upon here, relates to the reckoning of *hours of the day* in the Gospel. This too is to a small extent a question of harmonizing, but nothing of any importance turns upon it. According to St. Mark the succession of events is this:

Delivery to Pilate	about 6 a.m.
	(πρωτ, Mark xv. 1.)		
Crucifixion	9 a.m.
	(ῥα τρίτη, Mark xv. 25.)		
Darkness	12-3 p.m.
	(γενομένης ῥας ἑκτης . . . ἕως ῥας ἐννάτης, Mark xv. 33.)		

In St. John the note of time is inserted in the account of the hearing before Pilate: "Now it was the Preparation of the Passover (rather perhaps 'Friday in the Paschal week'): it was about the sixth hour" (John xix. 14). Clearly this does not agree if by the sixth hour is meant, as it usually would, "noon." But all would fall beautifully

into place if by "sixth hour" could be meant "6 a.m.," as with us. Such harmonizing as this is perfectly legitimate where it can be done without putting a strain upon the evidence. Even if the Gospel were written in the middle of the second century, there would be no reason to assume gratuitous contradictions. And it happened that in this particular instance there were a number of similar notes of time,¹ all of which seemed to be a degree more satisfactorily explained in connexion with their context if the reckoning were from midnight and midday as with us. Could St. John have adopted such a reckoning? It is well known that it has often been contended, especially in England, but also by writers like Tholuck, Meyer (not, however, Weiss in the sixth and following editions of Meyer), Ewald, and Wieseler, that he could. Writing with Wieseler's elaborate discussion before me, I nevertheless hesitated to claim more than a possibility for this view. Since then it has been maintained with his usual ability and accuracy by McClellan, and adopted also by Bishop Westcott. The subject has been recently reviewed, rather in a negative sense, by the Rev. J. A. Cross.² This has led me to go over the evidence again as well as I could with the help of two extremely full monographs by Dr. Gustav Bilfinger, *Der bürgerliche Tag* and *Die antiken Stundenangaben*, both published at Stuttgart in 1888. In consequence of this I should be obliged myself to take the negative view. The natural and common reckoning among the Romans, as well as other peoples, was the working day from sunrise to sunset. For certain legal purposes, however, the day was held to begin at midnight. This had a religious or ceremonial ground in the practice of augury. The auspices must be taken at night, and they

¹ i. 39; iv. 6, 7, 53, 53. Cf. McClellan, *Gospels*, p. 742, etc.; Westcott, *St. John*, p. 282.

² *Class. Rev.*, June, 1891, p. 245 ff.

must also be taken on the same day with the action to which they referred. Hence it was clearly necessary to annex a portion of the preceding night to the day. This portion began with midnight. From the sphere of religious ceremony this passed into the sphere of law; anything which happened before midnight was held to fall in the day past, anything after midnight in the day begun. This determined in particular the day of birth. The day so reckoned was called the "civil day."¹

There is however no evidence that this reckoning of the *days* carried with it a corresponding reckoning of the *hours*. And further I agree with Mr. Cross in his general conclusion, if not in quite all of his arguments, that the proof that this mode of reckoning hours prevailed in Asia Minor breaks down. The passage of Pliny on which greatest stress is laid (*Epp.* iii. 5) refers to 1 and 2 a.m. and midnight. Roman habits were very much earlier than ours. And the evidence that the Asiatic martyrdoms took place in the forenoon is much too remote to be conclusive. Bilfinger touches upon the hypothesis, only to reject it peremptorily.²

It will be remembered that Eusebius has a wholly different solution of the difficulty. He explains "the sixth hour" in St. John as a textual corruption, Γ (=3) being misread as digamma F (=6). And the reading is actually found in a rather strong group of authorities with a Western cast, just as the converse change has some slight support in St. Mark. We must leave the discrepancy as we find it.

5. With the next point we pass on to more serious ground. It will be well to take Schürer's statement, because if this held good it would constitute a really formi-

¹ Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* iii. 2 (=Macrob., *Saturn.* i. 3. 2-10); Censorinus, *De Die Nat.*, c. 23. Cf. Bilfinger, *Der bürg. Tag*, pp. 12, 198-206.

² *Die antiken Stundenangaben*, p. 112.

dable indictment. I hope, however, to show (1) that it is not an accurate representation of the facts; (2) that so far as it does represent them, the implied inference does not follow.

The charge is that between the Fourth Gospel and the earliest Synoptic document there is a *deep-seated difference respecting the whole course of the ministry of Christ*.

"According to the version in our St. Mark (says Schürer), it is in the highest degree probable that Jesus did not from the first come forward as the Messiah. (a) He is indeed absolutely certain of His mission. He challenges faith in the fact that through Him God offers His grace and His help to man. But with the claim to be the Messiah, the Son of God, with this title, in true pædagogic wisdom He only presents Himself at a later period and gradually. (b) To this attitude on His part there corresponds also the attitude of His disciples. They join themselves to Him as their Teacher without any question being raised as to His Messiahship. Even at the stilling of the storm at sea the disciples say with surprise (Mark iv. 41), 'Who is this, that the wind and the sea obey Him?'—an expression of astonishment which would be impossible if they had already recognised Him as the Messiah. Not until Cæsarea Philippi does Peter for the first time break out into the confession, 'Thou art the Messiah' (Mark viii. 29). The solemnity with which this is related shows plainly that we have to do with the first breaking forth of this conviction in the consciousness of the disciples. Yet even then Jesus still forbids His disciples to speak of it in public. He wishes not to rouse the unspiritual enthusiasm of the multitude. Only just at the end of His ministry does He allow the multitudes to pay homage to Him as the Messiah. (c) With the whole of this presentation agrees the protraiture of John the Baptist in the oldest Synoptic tradition. The oldest report, as it is preserved in Mark and Luke, knows nothing about John recognising Jesus as the Messiah at the baptism. On the contrary, it is well known how the Synoptics relate that John, even when he was in prison, has the question put to Jesus whether He is the Messiah (Matt. xi. 2-6 = Luke vii. 18-23). In the context of the Synoptic narrative this is not the question of one who has, after the fact, become doubtful, but the question of one in whom this belief flames up for the first time. All this gives a thoroughly consistent picture.

"Just as consistent, but in all respects opposed to it, is that which is drawn for us in the Fourth Gospel. Here from the first Jesus comes forward with the full claim to Divine sonship and Messiahship. (a) One of His first acts is that, in virtue of His supreme (*höherem*) autho-

rity, He cleanses the temple from all secular traffic,—an event which the Synoptists put at the very end of the public ministry. Such a step assumes the full claim to supreme, nay Divine dignity. (b) And so, according to the Fourth Gospel, Jesus is from the first acknowledged by His disciples too as the Messiah. ‘We have found the Messiah,’ says Andrew to his brother Simon (i. 41). ‘We have found Him of whom Moses and the prophets wrote,’ exclaims Philip to Nathanael. The disciples therefore attach themselves to Jesus, not only as pupils to a teacher, but because they have recognised in Him the Messiah. (c) And as the disciples, so also is John the Baptist from the first fixed in his belief in Jesus as the Messiah; indeed, his is the first clearly uttered testimony to the Divine mission of Jesus, and it is through him that, at His very first appearance, Jesus receives His credentials before the world.

“It is clear that these two portraits mutually exclude each other. If the first is historical, the second cannot be; but then the hand that drew it cannot be that of an Apostle, cannot be that of an actual disciple of the Lord.”¹

Certainly an impressive argument, if the facts were as they are stated. But before testing them, let us pause for a moment over the inference at the end. Surely if there is one thing which characterizes the action of memory, especially of memory looking back over a wide interval, it is the tendency to *foreshorten*. Events lose their perspective. Features in the picture are inserted out of place. The mind is so full of the significance of what followed, that the traces of that significance are antedated, they are thrown backward to a time when they had not yet discovered themselves. This is a matter of extremely common experience. I could therefore allow that there was some antedating in the narrative of the Fourth Gospel, without denying it to be the work of an Apostle. It would be the easier to do this because the author, whoever he was, had just the kind of mind which is most liable to such displacements. He has not the simplicity or *naïveté* of the second evangelist; but ideas take the strongest hold upon him, and he sees facts in the light of them. That in such a mind, setting

¹ *Vortrag*, pp. 63–65.

itself to write history, there should be an element of anticipation would not be at all surprising.

But is it the case that the Synoptic versions and the Johannean version are so diametrically opposed as they are made out to be? I cannot admit that they are.

We are pursued by the influence of names and the associations which we attach to them. Because Andrew or Philip say, "We have found the Messiah," and because we have learnt to read into that title the whole depth of Pauline and Johannean theology, we at once imagine that they also must have done the same thing. We forget that there were twenty Messiahs in the period between the death of Herod and the Jewish War, most of whom were extinguished before they had time to become formidable. The impulse which led the few friends and neighbours to follow the mysterious intimations of John, and attach themselves to the Person of Jesus, was a most tentative thing. If they did call Him "the Messiah," they knew not what they said. Even John, we may well believe, did not know all that he said. He spoke under the prophetic *afflatus*, which lifted him above his natural level; and when this subsided, his views of things would become more ordinary again. The Triple Synopsis makes him predict the coming of One mightier than himself, who would baptize with the Holy Ghost and with fire. The Triple Synopsis also leaves no doubt of the signs which accompanied the baptism of Jesus, and asserts that the Holy Spirit Itself visibly rested upon Him. The Fourth Gospel adds a different feature, "the Lamb of God," but nothing which essentially goes beyond what we have already had in the Synoptics.

It is, I cannot but think, an unimaginative criticism which finds it necessary to explain away the access of doubt which came over John in prison. The wonder is that any one who shared the expectations which all Israel entertained of their Messiah could keep up his faith in

One who so deliberately and persistently contradicted them. Jesus by His reply gave him a sign. He recalled to his mind a forgotten prophecy, which hit the central truth of what the Messiah was to be. By meditating on that, John might be led to recast his own idea and rise to a higher one.

The temptation to round off a telling antithesis has sadly spoiled Dr. Schürer's presentment of the facts. Why is there such lofty assumption involved in the cleansing of the Temple? Is it not an act that any prophet might have done? Again, is it true that St. John takes no note of the reserve of Christ in proclaiming His Messiahship? "According to the Synoptics," says Schürer, "He does not wish to rouse the unspiritual enthusiasm of the multitude." What of that incident where Jesus retires into solitude to escape the crowd which would come "to take Him by force and make Him king"?¹ What, again, of that taunt and the reason alleged for it: "If Thou doest these things, show Thyself to the world: for neither did His brethren believe on Him"? The family of Jesus is incredulous in the Synoptics; it is incredulous also in St. John. The seventh chapter takes us straight into the middle of the public ministry; it gives us a picture of the current feeling and notions about Christ: is that a picture of implicit faith, of commanding and unquestioned Godhead? And quite late in the day we are told how the Jews crowded round our Lord with the demand, "How long dost Thou hold us in suspense (τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν αἶρεις)? If Thou art the Christ, tell us plainly."²

There are as many and as unequivocal signs of the reserve of Christ in St. John as in the Synoptics, if we will but look for them.

6. Lastly, we have another point, which is no doubt also of serious moment. The Fourth Gospel gives us

¹ St. John vi. 15.

² St. John x. 24.

another *Christusbild*, a portrait of Christ which is all divinity. "That Jesus came forth from the Father, that He is one with Him, that all He says and does is a revelation of God Himself, and that therefore the salvation of men depends upon His acceptance or rejection—these," says Schürer,¹ "are the almost exclusive themes of the Johannean discourses, and they have only one clear parallel in the Synoptics (Matt. xi. 2)."

Again let us begin by allowing that here too there may be a certain selection, and that that selection may be influenced and guided by the meditation of a profound mind upon those "greater things" which had been wrought in the Spirit and Name of Jesus after His departure. Looking back over the fifty or sixty years which had elapsed, the Apostle saw what were the really fundamental truths in the life which he had been permitted to witness. He carefully gathers up and reproduces all the hints which had been given of these truths,—sometimes, it may be, making them fuller and more explicit.

So far we may go, but no further.

In the first place, let us note that the great passage, Matthew xi. 25-27, is reproduced almost exactly in Luke x. 21, 22, where it follows immediately upon the record of the return of the seventy and of their success in the exercise of miraculous powers. This Jesus accepts as proof of the overthrow of the Satanic kingdom; and He goes on solemnly to confer upon them higher powers still from the fulness of those with which He is Himself invested,—though not without a reminder that for them personally there is a yet more excellent way ("Rejoice not that the devils are subject to you," etc.). We may take it that the whole of this passage—in any case the crucial verse—comes from the *Logia*, the oldest of all evangelical compositions. It is introduced easily and naturally, and stands out by no

¹ Page 66.

apparent peculiarity from the surrounding context; and yet the language is full of what we consider characteristically Johannine expressions (ὁ πατήρ—ὁ υἱός; παραδιδόναι, of the entrusting of forces or powers; ἐπιγινώσκειν; ἀποκαλύπτειν). It is clear that such expressions were current as "words of the Lord" many years before St. John conceived the thought of writing a gospel. The degree of frequency with which they were repeated in other narratives would be a matter of accident or of the idiosyncrasy of the writer.

The Synoptics, it is true, give a more photographic account of the life of Christ as He went in and out among the peasants of Galilee; but when we come to look at them a little more closely, we see that they have really the same substratum, the same underlying ideas, as the Fourth Gospel. They are not one whit less *Christo-centric*. The Son of man there too forgives sins, there too legislates for His Church, there too claims the devotion of His disciples, whose acts acquire value from being done "for His sake," "in His Name." There too the Son is also Lord; there too He promises to dwell like the Shekinah among His people, and to give them help and inspiration after He is gone; there too He seals a new covenant with His blood; there too He declares that He will come again to judge.

What then is wanting? The criticism of the Fourth Gospel rings the changes upon one idea—the idea of pre-existence. This Schürer urges is in St. John always in the background, while in the Synoptic it is entirely wanting. There are two ways in which St. John teaches this doctrine of pre-existence, and in regard to each of these he employs a different cycle of language. The doctrine of the Logos in the prologue is one thing, the doctrine contained in the discourses of our Lord Himself is another. Still they approximate to each other. The idea of "sending" which occurs so often (with both verbs πέμπω

and ἀποστέλλω) would not of itself imply pre-existence, because the prophets also were "sent"; but taken as it is in close connexion with the filial relation, "sending by the Father," and also in connexion with the communication of the things of the Father ("we speak that we do know, and testify that we have seen"), it does seem to contain a reference to the pre-existent state. The commonest form of phrase is "He that (the Bread that, etc.), came down out of heaven," "He that cometh from above." But we get very near to the doctrine of the Logos in such sayings as "Your father Abraham rejoiced to see My day: and he saw it, and was glad"; "before Abraham was, I am"; and, still more, in "the glory which I had with Thee before the world was"; and "Thou lovedst Me before the foundation of the world."¹

All these are no doubt remarkable expressions. But let us consider for a moment. Have we heard nothing like them? When St. Peter speaks of the "Spirit of Christ" being in the prophets, and testifying through them to the sufferings of Christ;² when St. Paul speaks of the second Man as "the Lord from heaven," and of God as sending "*forth* His Son"; when he speaks of Him who, "though He was rich, yet for our sakes became poor," of Him who "existed in the form of God," of Him through whom "all things were created," who was "before all things," and in whom "all things consist";³ when the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of the Son through whom God "made the worlds," who "upholds all things by the word of His power"⁴—we are naturally driven back to some common source from which these three writers are drawing. Already in the year 57, if not earlier, St. Paul implies the existence of the doctrine. He refers to it as

¹ St. John viii. 56, 58; xvii. 5, 24.

² 1 Pet. i. 11.

³ 1 Cor. xv. 47; Gal. iv. 4; 2 Cor. viii. 9; Phil. ii. 6; Col. i. 16, 17.

⁴ Heb. i. 2, 3.

something which he takes for granted, and not as one propounding anything new.¹ Does not this bring us back very near the foundation-head of all Christian doctrine? Should we not be led to suspect, even if we had had no Fourth Gospel, that Christ Himself had laid the foundation on which His followers were building? But if that is so, the absence of this doctrine from the Synoptics and its presence in the Fourth Gospel only means that it has preserved what they had not preserved. And the argument on which so much stress has been laid turns out to be not against but for the ancient view, that we have in it the work of one who had lain on the breast of the Lord.

W. SANDAY.

*SAINT PAUL'S FIRST JOURNEY IN
ASIA MINOR.*

THE intention of this paper is, presupposing as already familiar to the reader all that is said in the careful and scholarly work of Messrs. Conybeare and Howson and in the picturesque pages of Dr. Farrar,² to add some notes and make a few corrections in points where fresh discoveries or more intimate acquaintance with the localities necessitate a revision of their statements. The present writer has seen every place named in the following pages except Perga, and writes as an eye-witness; and his object is to fix more precisely the exact situation of the localities visited by Paul and Barnabas, and the roads along which they travelled, and to draw some inferences as to the direction in which further knowledge may be hoped for.

¹ For this reason I think the view that the doctrine owes its origin to St. Paul, and that the other writers are all dependent upon him, very questionable.

² These works are, for brevity's sake, alluded to throughout as CH. and F.

In general, the narrative in Acts xiii. and xiv. wants the vividness and individuality of the scene at Ephesus, Acts xix. Whereas the latter must embody without substantial alteration the account given in great detail by some one present at the scene, the description of the journey is so slight, so vague, and so wanting in individualized details of place or of time, that it can hardly be more than the account given by one who had only second-hand information of a very brief kind to work on, and little or no knowledge of the localities to guide him. The references to Derbe and Lystra, however, are much more precise than the rest of the narrative, and contain some details which can be put to the test, and which become more full of meaning when compared with the actual localities. For example, "Jupiter before the city" at Lystra is a trait that can be proved or disproved at a cost of £100 spent in digging; and one particular site for the temple is so probable, that a couple of days' work might perhaps show where it stood.

F. explains this want of detail as due to the absorption of the apostle in his mission, and his indifference alike to the beauty of nature and to the discomforts of travel.¹ But this does not sufficiently account for the absence of details which show real acquaintance with localities, seasons, and surroundings. Such slight touches of local colour abound in parts of the book, and it is more natural to explain their absence here from the fact that the writer of the book had to depend entirely on brief notes, or brief oral accounts given by the actual travellers, and that he had little personal acquaintance with the localities. It is worth remarking, that the book purports to be written by

¹ CH. are in this point truer to nature and to the records; they quote the apostle's own words, showing that the dangers of travel were vividly felt by him: "In journeyings often, in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers, in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the wilderness, in labour and travail, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst" (2 Cor. xi. 26, 27).

a person who claims no acquaintance with Perga, Antioch, etc., but who does claim to have seen Iconium, Derbe, and Lystra.

It is even impossible to determine the season of the year when the journey was made. CH. indeed, followed by F., argue that Paul and Barnabas came to Perga about May, and found the population removing *en masse* to the upper country, to live in the cooler glens amid the mountains of Taurus. In this way they explain why the apostles are not said to have preached in Perga: they went on to the inner country, because no population remained in Perga to whom they could address themselves. But CH. can hardly be right in supposing that general migrations of the ancient population took place annually in the spring or early summer. The modern custom which they mention, and which they suppose to be retained from old time, is due to the semi-nomadic character of the Turkish tribes which have come into the country at various times after the twelfth century. Even at the present day it is not the custom for the population of the coast towns, who have not been much affected by the Turkish mixture of blood, to move away in a body to the interior. The migrations which take place are almost entirely confined to certain wandering tribes, chiefly Yuruks. A small number of the townsmen go up to the higher ground for reasons of health and comfort; and this custom has in recent years become more common among the wealthier classes in the towns, who, however, do not go away from the cities till the end of June. But a migration *en masse* is contrary to all that we know about the ancient population. The custom of living in the country within the territory of the city is a very different thing; and this was certainly practised by many of the people of Perga. But it is practically certain that the territory of Perga did not include any part of the upper highlands of Taurus; and there can

be no doubt that the festivals and the ceremonial of the Pergæan Artemis went on throughout the summer, and were celebrated by the entire population. The government was kept up in the same way during summer as during winter.

The one reason, therefore, why this journey has been supposed to begin in May is founded on an error. We must be content to know nothing about the time. Can we, however, determine what was the route by which Paul and Barnabas travelled from Perga to Antioch of Pisidia? In regard to this point some evidence exists.

The apostles, starting from Perga, apparently after only a very brief stay, directed their steps to Antioch, the chief city of inner Pisidia, a Roman colony, a strong fortress, the centre of military and civil administration in the south-western parts of the vast province called by the Romans Galatia. There can be no doubt that there existed close commercial relations between this metropolis on the north side of Taurus and the Pamphylian harbours, especially Side, Perga, and Attalia. The roads from Antioch to Perga and to Attalia coincide; that which leads to Side is quite different. There can also be no doubt that in Antioch, as in many of the cities founded by the Seleucid kings of Syria, there was a considerable Jewish population. Josephus mentions that, when the fidelity of Asia Minor to the Seleucid kings was doubtful, 2,000 Jewish families were transported by one single edict to the fortresses of Lydia and Phrygia.¹ Being strangers to their neighbours in the country, they were likely to be faithful to the Syrian kings; and specially high privileges were granted them in order to insure their fidelity. These privileges were con-

¹ Joseph., *Antiq. Jud.* xii. 3. It must be remembered that, though Antioch is generally called "of Pisidia," yet the bounds were very doubtful, and Strabo reckons Antioch to be in Phrygia. It was doubtless one of the fortresses here meant by Josephus.

firmed by the Roman emperors; for the imperial policy was, from the time of Julius Cæsar onwards, almost invariably favourable to the Jews.

The commerce of Antioch would in part certainly come to Perga and Attalia; in all probability the Jews of Antioch would play an important part in this commerce. Paul then resolved to go to Antioch; and the immediate result was that one of his companions lost courage, probably in view of the reported dangers of the road,¹ deserted the expedition, and returned home.

The commerce between Antioch and Perga or Attalia must of course have followed one definite route; and Paul would naturally choose this road. CH. and F. seem to me to select a very improbable path. The former incline to the supposition that the apostles went by the steep pass leading from Attalia to the Buldur Lake, the ancient Lake Ascania; and both CH. and F. state unhesitatingly that the path led along the coast of the Egerdir double lakes, the ancient Limnai, the most picturesque sheet of water in Asia Minor. But the natural, obvious, and direct course is up the Cestrus valley to Adada; and we must suppose that this commercial route was the one along which the strangers were directed.

Adada now bears the name of Bavlo. This is exactly the modern pronunciation of the apostle's name. In visiting the district I paid the closest attention to the name, in order to observe whether Baghlu might not be the real form, and Bavlo an invention of the Greeks, who often modify a Turkish name to a form that has a meaning in Greek.² But I found that the Turks certainly use the form Bavlo, not Baghlu. The analogy of many other

¹ If the road was frequented by commerce, it would of course be more dangerous. Brigands must make a living, and go where most money is to be found.

² For example, they have transformed Baluk-hissari, "Town of the Castle," into Bali-kesri, "Old Cæsarea." CH. quote a report heard by Arundel about

modern Turkish names for cities leaves no doubt that the name *Bavlo* has arisen from the fact that Paul was the patron saint of the city, and the great church of the city was dedicated to him. It is impossible not to connect this fact with the situation of *Adada* on the natural route between *Antioch* or *Perga*; the church probably originated in the belief that the apostle had visited *Adada* on his way to *Antioch*. There is no evidence to show whether this belief was founded on a genuine ancient tradition, or was only an inference, drawn after *Adada* was christianized, from the situation of the city; but the latter alternative is perhaps more probable. It is obvious from the narrative in *Acts xiii.* that Paul did not stop at *Adada*; and it is not likely that there was a colony of Jews there, through whom he might make a beginning of his work, and who might retain the memory of his visit.

It is possible that some reference may yet be found in Eastern hagiological literature to the supposed visit of Paul to *Adada*, and to the church from which the modern name is derived. If the belief existed, there would almost certainly arise legends of incidents connected with the visit; and though the local legends of this remote and obscure *Pisidian* city had little chance of penetrating into literature, there is a possibility that some echo of them may still survive in manuscript. Rather more than a mile south of the city, on the west side of the road that leads to *Perga*, stand the ruins of a church of early date, built of fine masonry, but not of very great size. The solitary situation of this church by the roadside suggests to the spectator that there was connected with it some legend about an apostle or martyr of *Adada*. It stands in the forest, with trees growing in and around it; and its walls rise to the height of five to

the existence of *Bavlo* (or *Paoli*, as he gives it); but they suppose it to be on the *Eurymedon*, and far away east of the road which they select.

eight feet above the present level of the soil. One single hut stands about half a mile away in the forest; no other habitation is near. Adada itself is a solitary and deserted heap of ruins; there is a small village with a fine spring of water about a mile north-east from it. So lonely is the country, that our guide failed to find the ruins; and, when he left us alone in the forest, we were obliged to go on for six miles to the nearest town before we could find a more trustworthy guide. After all, we found that we had passed within 200 yards of the ruins, which lay on a hill above our path.

The ruins of Adada are very imposing from their extent, from the perfection of several small temples, and from their comparative immunity from spoliation. No one has used them as a quarry, which is the usual fate of ancient cities. The buildings are rather rude and provincial in type, showing that the town retained more of the native character, and was less completely affected by the general Græco-Roman civilization of the empire. I may here quote a few sentences which I wrote immediately after visiting the ruins.¹

“With little trouble, and at no great expense, the mass of ruins might be sorted and thoroughly examined, the whole plan of the city discovered, and a great deal of information obtained about its condition under the empire. Nothing can be expected from the ruins to adorn a museum; for it is improbable that any fine works of art ever came to Adada, and certain that any accessible fragment of marble which ever was there has been carried away long ago. But for a picture of society as it was formed by Græco-Roman civilization in an Asiatic people, there is perhaps no place where the expenditure of a few hundreds would produce such results. The opinion will not be universally accepted that the most important and interesting part of ancient history is the study of the evolution of society during the long conflict between Christianity and paganism; but those who hold this opinion will not easily find a work more interesting and fruitful at the price than the excavation of Adada.”

¹ *Athenæum*, July, 1890, p. 186, in a letter written in part by my friend and fellow traveller Mr. Hogarth; the description of Adada was assigned to me.

CH. are right in emphasizing the dangers to which travellers were exposed in this part of their journey: "perils of rivers, perils of robbers." The following examples, not known to CH., may be here quoted. They all belong to the Pisidian highlands, not far from the road traversed by the apostles, and considering how utterly ignorant we are of the character of the country and the population, it is remarkable that such a large proportion of our scanty information relates to scenes of danger and precautions against violence.

1. A dedication and thank-offering by Menis son of Daos to Jupiter, Neptune, Minerva, and all the gods, and also to the river Eurys, after he had been in danger and had been saved.¹ This inscription records an escape from drowning in a torrent swollen by rain. There is no river in the neighbourhood which could cause danger to a man, except when swollen by rain.

2. An epitaph erected by Patrokles and Douda over the grave of their son Sousou, a policeman, who was slain by robbers.²

3. References to *gens d'armes* of various classes (*ὀποφύλακες, παραφυλακῖται*) occur with unusual frequency in this district. Very few soldiers were stationed in Pisidia; and armed policemen were a necessity in such an unruly country.³

4. A *stationarius*, one of the road-guards, part of whose duty was to assist in the capture of runaway slaves (always the most dangerous of brigands), is also mentioned in an inscription.⁴

¹ Abbé Duchesne in *Bulletin de Corresp. Hellen.*, vol. iii., p. 479. The name of the river is uncertain, Eurys or Syrus; I tried in vain to find the stone in 1886, in order to verify the text.

² Prof. Sterrett in *Epigraphic Journey in Asia Minor*, p. 166.

³ *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, p. 177 ff.

⁴ *Mittheilungen des Instituts zu Athen*, 1885, p. 77. Examples might be multiplied by including the parts of Taurus further removed from the road.

The roads all over the Roman empire were apt to be unsafe, for the arrangements for insuring public safety were exceedingly defective; but probably the part of his life which St. Paul had most in mind when he wrote about the perils of rivers and of robbers, which he had faced in his journeys, was the journey from Perga across Taurus to Antioch and back again.

Between Adada and Antioch the road is uncertain. One path leads along the south-east end of Egerdir Lake, traversing the difficult pass now called Demir Kapu, "the Iron Gate." But I believe there is a more direct and easy road, though further exploration is needed before it is possible to speak confidently.

CH. give a good account of Antioch, the site of which was demonstrated with certainty by Arundel. It would not be possible to add anything essential to our purpose to their account without discussing the history and constitution of the city more minutely than would be in place here.¹ The details given of Paul's first speech in the synagogue at Antioch are to a certain extent graphic, but are really such as would always characterize such a scene. The text gives no hint as to the length of the apostles' stay, and widely divergent opinions are held on this point. Almost all English authorities maintain that the whole journey was performed in one single summer, and Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe were all evangelized during that time. The continental authorities as a rule consider that months or even a year were spent at each city, and that the whole journey occupied from two to six years. On this supposition Paul would have settled down in each

On the whole subject see the paper of Prof. O. Hirschfeld in *Berlin Sitzungsber.*, 1891, p. 845 ff., on "Die Sicherheitspolizei im römischen Kaiserreich."

¹ F. mentions Men Archaios as the great god of Antioch; but the manuscripts of Strabo read Askaios or Arkaios, and there can be little doubt that M. Waddington's correction, Askainos, must be accepted.

place to maintain himself by manual labour; and the events in each city, which are related so summarily, must have gone on very slowly. The fact that opinions are so divided is a sufficient proof that the words used above as to the want of precision and detail in the narrative do not overstate the case.

No certain memorial of the Jewish community, and few memorials of the Christian community, at Antioch of Pisidia¹ have as yet been found among the inscriptions of the district. One monument, which was probably erected in Antioch, about or shortly after the time when Paul and Barnabas visited the city, deserves mention.² It is a pedestal, which probably supported a small statue of P. Anicius Maximus, a native of Antioch. Anicius, beginning as a common soldier, was promoted from the ranks to be first centurion of the twelfth legion, then serving in Syria. When the emperor Nero's father was elected, about 32-40 A.D., to an honorary magistracy in Antioch, he nominated Anicius to represent him and perform the duties of the office. Anicius was an officer in the army that invaded Britain in 43, and was, for the second time rewarded for distinguished merit during this expedition. He was then sent to command the troops stationed in Egypt, and while he held this office, the city of Alexandria presented him with a statuette and an honorary inscription, to be erected in a public place in his native city. There is no evidence what was the nationality of Anicius; but of those inhabitants of central Asia Minor who rose to distinction in the Roman service, a remarkable proportion are known, even with our scanty evidence, to be Jews.³ If Anicius was a Jew, it would be easier to understand why he was

¹ One is quoted in *THE EXPOSITOR*, 1888, Oct., p. 263.

² *Corp. Inscript. Latin.*, vol. iii, Suppl., No. 6809.

³ See the statement quoted in Reinach's *Chroniques d'Orient*, pp. 503, 504.

selected for an Egyptian command, and why he was so specially honoured by a city where Jewish influence was so strong as Alexandria.

W. M. RAMSAY.

(To be continued.)

THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

THE assertion has gradually settled down into a commonplace, that the miraculous in the Christian religion was a great help to its early diffusion, but is now the chief hindrance to its acceptance by modern thought, armed with rigorous and scientific tests. The miraculous was a very estimable superstition, used by Providence (somewhat unscrupulously, one must confess) to pass off upon the ages of credulity, for their good, a revelation which we, who are not thus to be imposed upon, may accept for its own merits.

It is therefore proposed to relieve the faith from this encumbrance, which served its generation by the will of God, but must now fall asleep. We are advised to reject as accretions, afterthoughts, all the supernatural events which surprise us in the story of Jesus and His followers, while reverently retaining the marvellous teaching, the lofty and unprecedented conception of life and duty, and the exquisite morality of the gospel.

Alas! we cannot thus reject the supernatural from Christianity, and retain its ethical forces. For the more closely we examine the Gospels, the more certain we shall become that the supernatural is by no means eliminated when one tears off the record of certain events, of the so called miracles, since these are only visible flashes from an atmosphere densely laden, surcharged throughout with the same electricity. The miraculous reaches far beyond the miracles,

which are rightly called "the signs" of much that lies behind them. In one sense, the beginning of these was at Cana, yet we know what Nathanael felt when made aware that he was observed under the fig tree. The supernatural is no patch sewn upon this garment, nor even a thread combining with others to form a tissue, whence it might be unravelled, with whatever pains, at whatever cost to the design. It is not even a pigment by which all is so deeply dyed that now the union between colour and fabric is indissoluble. It is the fabric itself. Beneath all that Jesus taught, and sustaining it all, was the authority of His own supernatural personality, like the canvas beneath some picture which the artist spreads, touch by touch, on this essential, all-sustaining base.

The morality of Jesus is compliance with His simple imperative mandate, for the sake of His all-dominating personal attraction. The self-sacrifice which Jesus inculcates is "for My sake." The additions made by Jesus to the code of Sinai are sufficiently ratified by the words, "I say unto you." Jesus calls Himself meek and lowly in heart, but in the same sentence He proposes to relieve all the burdens of mankind. If others may not aspire nor assert themselves, this is because Jesus is the only Teacher, in the same sense in which God is the only Father.

Now all this is without a precedent or parallel. Socrates would be as ignorant as any one, if it were not that he is aware of his ignorance; but Jesus knows the Father as thoroughly as the Father knows Him. Epictetus gropes for truth: "The beginning of philosophy is this, a perception of the disagreement of men with one another, and an inquiry into the cause of this, and a distrust of the apparent, and the discovery of some such test as physics possess in the balance and the yardstick." But the teaching of Jesus rests on intuition. According to St. John, He declares what is heavenly because He is in heaven.

According to the Synoptics, none knoweth the Father save the Son, and he to whom the Son willeth to reveal Him. Marcus Aurelius infers: "It is satisfaction to a man to do the proper works of a man: now it is the proper work of a man to be benevolent." But Jesus waives all such argumentation, and even the permissions of the Old Testament, aside altogether: "It hath been said unto them of old time, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy; but I say unto you, Love your enemies."

It is abundantly clear that Jesus was the most gigantic of all egoists, or else He was a supernatural Ego, and not merely an ordinary man performing supernatural feats.

Therefore nothing can be more shallow than the attempt to solve the problem which Christianity inflexibly presents to scientific scepticism by accepting Christ and His teaching, but rejecting certain of His actions because they are tainted with the supernatural. Least of all men may the sceptical physicist deny that the laws of mind are as rigid as the laws of matter, and a spiritual portent as portentous as any, since, according to him, mind and spirit are nothing but a phase of matter.

Well, then, here is an absolutely abnormal Being, a Galilæan artisan, whose thought outsoars the thought of Plato; whose love still evokes the responsive love of a great multitude, whom no man can number, out of all nations and kindreds; who imprinted His convictions on the conscience of the race without a shred of argumentation, except when controversy was forced on Him; who was right, as the event has proved, in valuing His own sufferings more than the loftiest truths He taught; and whose matchless self-reliance is now justified by success, even when He declared that His flesh should become the bread of all the race.

In the thought of God there is a power to overwhelm all the saints with self-abasement. But Jesus is not a

saint, whether we call Him greater or less than they ; and the thought of God simply exalts Him to assert His own unique relationship.

The Founder of Christianity is utterly unlike other men ; and in one sense most unlike those who follow Him most closely ; for the effect of copying His superb holiness is always a holiness with ashes on its head.

And His disciples knew well that He was a greater sign than His works. When tempted to desert Him, their question was not, Who else can do such prodigies ? It was : "To whom shall we go ? Thou hast the words of eternal life. And we have believed, and we know that Thou art the Holy One of God."

Now all this, to the unbeliever in spiritual realities, is a physical product of natural forces. But then, the evolution of Jesus by the religious influences of the first century is a far greater marvel than the turning of water into wine. And he cannot get rid of the supernatural by rejecting some five and thirty incidents which challenge him at intervals along the story.¹

To us, the supernatural Person explains the supernatural events. The true key to every act is in the personality

¹ Thus when Keim admits that in Him "was revealed, not only a religious genius, but the miracle of God and His presence upon earth ; the person itself, and nothing else, is the miracle" (*Jesus of Nazara*, i., p. 10), the main affirmation destroys the warrant for the interpolated phrase, "and nothing else." He tells us again that "it was not with Him as with the other great characters of the earth ; . . . and however steadily and minutely we examine, in order to arrive at a conclusion without any fallacy, we are still able to retain the strong and joyful conviction that it was Virtue herself who trod the earth in Him, and that the dolorous confession made by antiquity [and surely also by the modern world] of the impossibility of sinlessness, and the non-existence of the ideal of virtue and wisdom, found in Him its refutation and its end" (vi., p. 416).

But the Church is entitled to reply that all this is an admitted exception to law, and Keim's own word "miracle" applies in a sense as absolute and literal as in any of the physical marvels which Keim explains away. When one miracle is established, the presumption against a second miracle is nullified ; we are no longer in a position to reason from ordinary analogies to the action of what is confessedly extraordinary and phenomenal.

of the actor. To a modern maker of instruments the Cremona violin is impossible, but this is because he is no Straduarus. And to an ordinary soldier Marengo is a feat of the gods, but Napoleon explains his campaign. To the supernatural Christ the miracles are natural; they are simply good works which He shows.

Here, then, are certain events, of which it will presently become clear that, without assuming the occurrence, the very conception, the notion, is a deviation from the course of nature. And here also is a Man, all of whose doctrines and methods of thinking and teaching are as unprecedented and astonishing as these actions. Do you gain much, even of plausibility, by rending asunder these clearly correlated phenomena, and declaring the events to be unreal, while retaining, in your own despite, the preternatural Teacher? The natural wonder-worker is the predicted One, whose name is Wonderful.

To all this it is answered that the door was finally locked against miracles when science discovered the absolute invariability of the sum of the forces of nature. Force, active and latent together, is always the same in quantity. The same heat which to-day drives an engine vibrated in former ages from the sun, and has lurked ever since in those vegetable forms which slowly consolidated into the coal now burning in the furnace. The force with which an iron shield is stricken by the projectile from an eighty-ton gun becomes visible for a moment in a great sheet of flame, and then disperses itself through the universe in radiated heat. To the sum of existent forces nothing is really added, from it nothing is really withdrawn.

It is granted to us that possibly this great law does not formally disprove the possibility of a Divine interference with the uniform sum-total of force. What is urged is that it adds so enormously to the presumption in favour of its stability, that any hypothesis, however strained, will be

more credible than that new forces should have been poured into nature from outside. If the universe be indeed a creation of Deity, the Divine Creator decreed the stability of force in it, and it is virtually incredible that He has occasionally countermanded His edict.

To this objection, urged both against miracles and answers to prayer, there are two replies. In the first place, it is palpably no more than an application to this specific law of the well-worn general argument that testimony is more likely to be false than any law of nature to be violated. A law of nature, however, is only a generalization, a broad statement to which we have been led by observing a sufficient number of similar cases. Like all inductions, it leaps from an array of particular observations to a universal affirmation. And in applying it, the vital point is the similarity of the cases, the absence of any new condition, removing the event in question from the category. In a temperate climate certain laws regulate the action of dynamite; but he will be a rash man who reasons from these to its behaviour when crystallized by even a touch of frost. Now it is an audacious *petitio principii* to assume that no new conditions are at work, when the question disputed is whether the Creator has willed to manifest His power to His creatures.

But in the second place, the objection, as connected with this particular law of the conservation of force, only proves that men, otherwise well informed, are content to assail the faith in utter ignorance of its teaching.

Let us, on our side, observe that the forces to which this celebrated law applies are purely physical. If we include in the sum of forces human thoughts, convictions, and volitions, then the law is palpably disproved. When Demosthenes or Peter the Hermit inflamed great multitudes with new passions and volitions, the sum total of emotion was changed, although no physical alteration was

produced, not a flush or pallor, not the clenching of a fist, the quickening of a breath, the agitation of the molecules of any brain, except by drawing on the reserves which are stored in every human frame, and quickening the need of new supplies. What was physical remained, unaltered in the aggregate, although these new convictions and resolutions were superadded; and this, by the way, is enough to show that these are not material products, since, if they were, their addition would involve a commensurate decrease of other physical forces.

When a man dies, certain convictions and volitions disappear, but no physical energy is extinguished; that is only dissipated. To recall him to life, therefore, would not require the creation of new physical energies, but only the reassembling of those which had been scattered. The doctrine of the conservation of force does not in any sense affirm that the volitions and energies by which latent force is started into energy remain the same. No man ever creates or abolishes force enough to move a finger, but he can propagate beliefs and aspirations, and he can slay them. His name may be Muhammad or Voltaire. And probably there never yet was a conviction which did not more or less modify the arrangement of physical forces.

The stability of the sum of forces, active and latent, does not forbid me to produce great changes by flinging a match into a powder magazine, nor by prayers addressed to any one whom I can induce to try this hazardous experiment. An infant, upsetting chemicals, may convulse the arrangement of forces for miles around. And if there be, within the circle of the universe, any intellect and volition superior to mine, it will also produce superior changes, without needing to create any new stock of physical forces, by swaying, exciting, and stilling those which already exist.

When scientific unbelievers assert that Christ could not have worked His miracles without importing new force from

outside into the universe, they either imply that God is not within His universe, but above and outside it, so that His interference is necessarily the importing of foreign forces; or else, that the total resources of the universe, by whatever intellect and energy commanded, is so inadequate to perform the "works" of Christ, that foreign forces must have been drawn upon. But the latter of these is a pure assumption. To raise the dead is clearly not a creation of new forces, it is a reassembling of those that have been scattered. Whenever Jesus multiplied food, He carefully shut out the notion of creation from nothingness by working around a nucleus of existing natural material. What the seed does under the clod, grasping and assimilating materials, transforming these, and so multiplying itself, that was done transcendently by a transcendent will and energy.

The only ground which exists, therefore, for the appeal of unbelief to the conservation of force is the notion that God is outside His world, and His interference is necessarily that of a foreign force, adding itself to those within the universe. But who told the objector that God can only interfere in His universe "from outside"? The doctrine of the Church is that by Him all things consist, that in Him we live, move, and have our being.

"Closer is He than breathing," says our Christian poet. And Marcus Aurelius said the same thing before Lord Tennyson: "The all-embracing intelligence . . . is not less all-diffusive and all-pervasive for whoever is willing to receive it, than is the atmosphere for whoever is able to inhale."

That God could, and if necessary would, pour new forces into the universe "from outside" is the doctrine of creation, and is implied in the future creation of new heavens and a new earth. But there are abundant indications in Scripture that this is not the true light in which to regard the miracles of Christ. They are good works shown from

the Father, the doing "likewise" of whatsoever the Father doeth. In seeing Him who wrought these, men saw the Father. But as regards creation this is the Sabbath of God. When the Christian passes within the veil, he enters into that Sabbath. When souls transgress, God swears that they shall "not enter into My rest."

If then the works of Jesus were creative, they would no longer be a more vivid and impressive manifestation of God's work in providence, for creation belongs to another order; but this is a notion which is diametrically opposed to the expressions quoted above. And our position becomes impregnable when we observe His defence against the charge of Sabbath-breaking. He answers: I only do upon My Sabbath what My Father doeth during His: "My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."

It is therefore the doctrine of Scripture that God is now working from within His universe, and not from above it, by wielding its forces, not by superseding them; and, secondly, that Jesus in His miracles only carried out this process further. Against these positions, modern science has not a word to say which would not equally paralyse every other vital energy by which the chain of forces is shaken, while no new links are forged.

The results at which we have now arrived are far from being so purely negative, so merely controversial, as may be supposed.

I. We have been led, in the first place, to a reasonably definite comprehension of what a miracle may be.

For the laws of nature, in themselves so stable, are by no means invariable in their results. When I cause an ivory ball to "cannon" off the cushion of a billiard-table, the laws which govern projectiles are neither arrested nor outraged, yet I have modified the result of them, by combining their operation with that of another law, the law of action and reaction. Gravitation is neither arrested nor

contradicted when a balloon ascends, nor the laws of heat when a lump of ice is shaken out of a red-hot crucible. The additional resources possessed by the modern chemist enable him to perform this marvel, utterly impossible to me, not by violating law, but by wielding it. Therefore a Being endowed with vastly greater resources will perform vastly greater works; but works contrary to the laws of nature will only be performed in periods of creative or destructive energy.

The miracles of Jesus, therefore, are not contra-natural. And in Scripture they are never said even to be supernatural. We now see in what sense this latter epithet is just, and in what sense it is unauthorized and perilous. If by the supernatural we mean that which natural forces, the existing resources of the universe, could not accomplish, by whatever energies wielded, then we reintroduce the notion of creation, and the collision with scientific teaching. But the explicit claim of Jesus was to do what the Father doeth during His Sabbath from creation of new forces. And therefore it is quite enough to say that a miracle is what transcends the effect of natural forces wielded by merely human energies. The miracles of Jesus were "the works that none other man did." Therefore a miracle is sometimes called "a wonder," a much less ignoble epithet than many commentators believe. For it is not the ignorance of a backward province or an unscientific age which feels this wonder, but the limitations natural to humanity. The true marvel is marvellous to man, as such. And his wonder is wholesome: it is one premeditated result of the sign. "Greater works than these shall 'the Father' show 'the Son,' that ye may marvel" (*ὅνα ὑμεῖς θαυμάζητε*).

II. And thus the true ethical importance of the marvel becomes clear. Why, it is sometimes asked, must the Church insist on her prodigies, when it is proposed to leave

intact her morality and her adoration? What is religious in a prodigy? But such a "wonder" as we have spoken of is "a sign"; it implies an adequate, a supernatural Personage; and the miraculous Christ is assailed when you assail the miracles. Apart from its power to reveal Him, the miraculous cannot be more worthless to the nineteenth century than it was to St. John. The signs were written in his book, that we might believe that Jesus is the Son of God (John xx. 31). And he has recorded a remarkable expression of his Master, which implies the same truth. After complaining that "ye seek Me, not because ye saw signs, but because ye ate," Jesus puts His indictment into other words: "I said unto you, that ye have seen ME, and believe not." To have missed, not the marvel, but its revelation of Himself, that was to have lost all. And therefore it was the will of His Father "that every one who beholdeth the Son" (discerning the Worker in the work), "and believeth on Him, should have everlasting life" (John vi. 26, 36, 40).

III. From this follows a test of the reality of the miracles. So long as they seem to be merely prodigies, amazing interruptions of the regularity and order of things, they cannot be classified, compared with other events, and reasoned about as the subjects of analogy and inference. But when they come to be recognised as the natural "works" of a great Worker, all this is changed. We now expect them to resemble those works of His which do not startle us. We look for character in them. We feel certain that, if we possess His genuine discourses and much of His real life, then the miracles will show themselves to be His, or else betray the fact that they are accretions, by revealing "the mind of Christ" or the somewhat superstitious, somewhat vindictive, and not a little puerile characteristics of the next age. The evidence thus afforded is of a kind the more valuable because it is incidental, often

microscopic, and wholly beyond the critical or literary power of early Christianity. And its results will be purely scientific, being an induction from a large number of absolutely indisputable facts, the phenomena exhibited in certain documents.

Before examining these, however, some other preliminary questions must be considered.

G. A. CHADWICK.

GIDEON.

THE story of that great Hebrew judge Gideon is the subject of this lecture ; but before taking up his brief career, I ought to deal with two or three questions that grow out of the general subject of the conquest of Canaan by the children of Israel. The Hebrews, expelled by oppression from Egypt, lived a nomad and pastoral life for a number of years in the Sinaitic wilderness, probably with Kadesh as their centre. Apart from their religious character, they must have been very much like the Bedouin tribes : fierce, warlike, and civilized in a very poor way, but not accustomed to agriculture, to the tillage of the soil, to vintage, or olive-growing. At a certain point a strange spirit moves those Hebrew Bedouins. They unite together. They approach a fertile, cultivated country—Canaan. They have a succession of battles ; they seize the country, settle in the farms, vineyards, and homesteads ; ultimately and completely they dispossess the old tenants.

What shall we say as to the moral character of this transaction ? Was the conquest of Canaan by the Hebrews morally justifiable, achieved as it was through the violence, bloodshed, and cruelty with which war has blackened the face of our world as far back as our eyes can see and our ears can hear ? We must not let our affection or veneration for old traditions blind us to the difficulty of the question.

But common sense has suggested to me one or two considerations. First of all, our judgment is apt to be prejudiced here, because men in our time, we English people in particular, have come to think rather falsely about war. A profounder apprehension of the lovely Christlike spirit of our religion, coupled with a good many less worthy influences, such as the peaceableness and security of our seagirt life in these isles, have all combined to give us a great horror of war ; not because of the sin and iniquity of it, but because it means wounds and bloodshed, and robbery of our property, and death.

Now indubitably every rational man will say that, were our world free from selfishness and sin, war could not exist in it. Therefore it has its roots in iniquity. Nevertheless, like many other things that are evils in themselves, war may be used, under God's providential government of the world, to cure worse evils, acting remedially like the surgeon's knife, and bringing renewed life to the nation and the individual. And a careful and conscientious study of history, I am able honestly to tell you, does go to show that, in the long run, the outcome of the strife and bloodshed which we lament so much in the course of human history has not been the increase of the worst kinds of human misery. Over and over again you find that God has used war for the furtherance of righteousness and purity, and moral and religious progress.

In the second place, I wish to add another consideration. I venture to say that all of us, in our historical judgment, and in our ethical and religious teaching, probably have fallen into error, in that we overvalue mere physical human life. If anything is manifest in this world, it is that the material life counts for very little in God's sight ; that the material life is mere scaffolding, the machinery by which or the platform on which the mental, moral, and ethical life is to be built up.

All the strife of existence, all our battlings with the elements and with rivals, are educative; they are a moral discipline, and it is for this that all else exists. Manifestly therefore it must falsify all our estimates of God's providential government of the world if at any time we conceive a selfish and inordinate regard for merely physical existence. Clearly the martyrs did nobly and well when they cared nothing for bodily torture and bodily death that they might vindicate the supremacy and grandeur of moral and religious principle. Over and over again, in the pathological history of our human race, we find that God has sacrificed millions of lives to compel men to be pure and dignified in their bodily and moral habits. Apply this to war. Though it be a scourge and an exterminator, it has nevertheless a wonderful potential force in it to produce bravery, courage, ability of every description. War may thus be used to elevate the moral and mental worth of our race. I fear it is our tendency in the present day to make too much of physical comfort and physical life. On that account we recoil unduly when God has wrought out benefit for our race as a whole through terrible trial, affliction, discipline, suffering, and self-sacrifice; as, for example, by wars in which cruel despotisms, tyrannous, inferior, and sanguinary races, have succumbed before superior moral or mental worth.

I am afraid too we do not deal out fair measure to our predecessors. We are ready to censure these Hebrews or king David for the cruel treatment they often meted out to prisoners of war. We are apt to say that the men who did such things could not, along with such a low moral character, have possessed a lofty, pure revelation of God, or a knowledge of His character. But that is too hasty a judgment. Similarly we take a socialist book, describing life in the last generation, or in the present generation, in our England; we read the history of the horrors that

produced the Factory Acts—how the wealthy capitalist lived in luxury, and grudged a diminution of his income that would have made the condition of workshops and the hours of labour such as would have averted the premature death of their operatives, of men, women, and children, until Parliament stepped in. We say those men who occupied the position of capitalists were fiends. But they were nothing of the kind ; some of them were even eminent Christians. But Christianity had got into cursed blindness and ignorance on these points, and they belonged to their day and generation. At present, are we so very far above them? Is it not the fact that constantly you have great outbreaks of small-pox or scarlet fever spreading death in a hundred households which are due solely to carelessly scamped work? Have we not the horrors of the East End, and the City, and so on? But are we therefore *all* bad men? Not so. We are Christians in process of growing. These are evils we are only waking up to discover, the sins we have inherited, the Canaanites we have to destroy.

If we apply the same measure to the Hebrews, we see that there was a real progress, a real working for good in a society that, in certain moral aspects, was low and degraded. God does not demand that we should be perfect saints before He uses us to do His political, or His intellectual, or His moral, or His spiritual work in this world. He takes us as we are, as we take our little children. He teaches us the A B C and the first simple rules of arithmetic. He bears with our blunders, dulness, and ignorance ; and He lifts us towards Himself. How have I a right to say that, because there was a great deal of cruel human passion, of mere selfishness and greed, in the hearts of those Hebrews when they conquered Canaan, there nevertheless was nothing loftier? There was something very much loftier ; there was the sense of having the true God with them, and of taking possession of a kingdom for Him on

the earth. Why have I a right to say that? Because, in spite of all their iniquity and degeneracy, they never did sink down to the level of the old Canaanites. Their God was the one true God. He it was who was associated with them. That is what some of our apologists are afraid to say, and what infidels fling at our sacred history as a scoff; *viz.* that God was associated with men who were at a low level both in worship and morals. But He was with them nevertheless; He was working with them. The sin, the degradation of the nations who possessed false gods, or had lost the old teaching of the real, living God, was manifested in this, that they dragged their gods down to their own level, and made them in their own likeness. Conversely, it was the glory and the salvation of the Hebrews, this backsliding, sensual people, that their God gained greater power and ascendancy over them with time. His perfect righteousness and love shone out upon and in them. He lifted them to His level; they did not drag Him down to theirs.

Then again, as a matter of fact, the God that made our world has made this law, that wherever sin of a certain type and degree has come in, the retribution of moral obliquity and degradation has come in also, in the shape of annihilation at the hands of a superior race. That seems a cruel, hard thing; but nevertheless so it is. Moreover, to make it more mysterious, the conquering race is not always a superior race in the perfect sense. But we have not that complication here, for all old history testifies that the most blighting curse of false religion and the vilest sensuality of our world in these days lay in the religion of those Canaanites. Even classic, pagan writers say that blank atheism would have been better than that. Wherever Phœnicians established their colonies and their places of worship they introduced nameless vices and uncleannesses, and dignified them with the name of religion. And where

these things were introduced they spread, so much so that the end of the great Roman empire was hastened, its old martial strength was rooted out, by the corruption that came in a direct line from that old Canaanitish religion. To justify what was done therefore, we do not need to say that the conquerors were perfect and immaculate. All we need to be able to say is, that it was a deserved retribution, and that it was better for our world that Canaan should pass into the hands of the Hebrew nation, which has done the grandest moral and religious work for the world.

Further, the ideal, the impulse that stirred those Hebrews in the desert to go in the name of their God and take possession of that land involved the extermination of many of the inhabitants and much that was found there. They were utterly to destroy the luxuries, furniture, and machinery of that false religion. And as it was religion which at that time possessed practically all the wealth of the country, there was a tremendous destruction of property when Baal worship was done away with. Nevertheless the Israelites did not utterly annihilate the old population, because they were not able. Why were they not able? Probably because of the physical conditions, the nature of the country, which impeded military operations, the strength of the fastnesses, and so forth.

But the fact that the conquest of Canaan and the extermination of the people was only partially accomplished proved an invaluable discipline to the Hebrews. In the third chapter of the book of Judges, it is said that God providentially ordered it so. They were not allowed to settle down peacefully and to become prosperous colonists at once, but were compelled to acquire the art of war, which they would not have acquired without such discipline being put upon them. From the subject Canaanites, too, they learned agriculture, and how to keep the country in

fertility. Highest of all, the presence of these aliens was a moral and religious discipline to them.

There is a prevalent theory that the Hebrews got possession of the country, not by a great war or conquest, but rather by stratagem, by alliances, by treaties, and by inter-marriage. I do not believe in that theory; it is just the play of *Hamlet* with the part of Hamlet left out. How can you explain Old Testament history, how can you understand the Psalms, ringing as they do with pride and exultation, except on the supposition that the Israelites' memory of that great time when, under Moses and Joshua, God wrought such magnificent deeds for His people, and when Israel achieved such repute in the world's history, is accurate in the main?

Another thing is perfectly certain. The Hebrews could not have achieved that enormous feat of the subjection of Canaan, with its walled towns, even in the imperfect fashion in which they did achieve it, unless they had been welded together by some great enthusiasm. Now people living a nomadic life for any length of time rarely possess any intense consciousness of national unity. The only possible explanation of the triumph of Israel therefore is that the people were possessed by an extraordinary amount of zeal for a God that had revealed Himself in a new and startling fashion. I cannot account for Old Testament history without that absolute certainty. Now such a belief may have been rough, if you like, savage, gross, unrefined, and far removed from the spirit of Christ in its inner essence. Nevertheless nothing but a firm conviction that one great supreme God had come, and was going to work on earth, compelling them to be His soldiers and servants in achieving a career of resplendent triumph in the world's history, could have made this nation do what it did. Undoubtedly that belief inspired the soul of Moses, of Joshua, and of the army that, under him, conquered Canaan.

But when the war was over, the people settled down side by side with the Canaanites. In some cases they inhabited the same towns, which thus became half Canaanitish and half Hebrew. Moreover the Hebrews, for commerce and for agriculture, were brought into friendship with the Canaanites. Now in ancient days, all transactions, either in commerce or in agriculture, involved the performance of religious rites on both sides. But it must often have happened that a Canaanitish shrine was nearer than Jehovah's altar, and the temptation would be great to let one rite performed in common do for both. You see how easy it must have been for the Hebrews to adopt the religion of the Canaanites also. Further, the almost inevitable splitting up of the people into separate and detached communities, often dependent upon the Canaanitish neighbouring commune, tended also to assimilate the Hebrews to the Canaanites in life and in worship. This tendency had continually to be checked, and the book of Judges is one continuous exhibition of God's providential prevention of the destruction of true religion. From it we gain a last argument in defence of the Hebrew conquest. Jehovah deals with His chosen people precisely as He dealt with the heathen in that case. Whenever the Hebrew conquerors amid their Canaanite vassals had become supine, when their relation to Jehovah had grown slack, and their religious enthusiasm feeble, when selfishness, comfort, and luxury were their supreme ends in life, they in their turn became weak; the Philistines and their other enemies fell upon them, made forays into their land, seized parts of it, until by misery they were compelled to return to their loyalty and to their God, Jehovah. Read the Song of Deborah, and you will see that very principle enunciated.

I have now, I think, said quite enough on the preliminary question to enable me to tell the story of Gideon and bring out its historical, moral, and religious wealth of meaning.

Israel had fallen into a condition of lassitude, sensuality, and impotence. The Midianites, Bedouins of the desert east of the Jordan, saw their advantage, and, commencing in a small way, pushed their forays farther and farther into the land. Israel, too selfish, too detached and broken up to combine together in order to resist those forays, became subject to them township by township. Instead of assuming the offensive, they were compelled to stand on their defence.

That was the hero's opportunity, for there are always in a healthy nation heroes lying in wait for opportunity. They do not always find it, and I think one of the most pathetic things in the world's story is that so often men of magnificent, heroic character have lived in times when they have had no chance to show it. It is a crisis that brings out what men and women really are. It is when disaster comes, and the framework of ordinary society breaks down, that you discover who is really the brave man, the pure man, and who is the man of faith. There were a great many men in Israel whose spirit was gradually moved within them, and who felt that the subjection to the Midianites was intolerable. Doubtless these men talked together, saying, "It must be God's will that Israel should be restored to its proper position." One day, in a winepress hidden out of sight, a man with a flail was threshing out his wheat. He was doing it there, sneaking out of sight lest some band of the Midianites should mark it, and see that there was a good harvest there to be stolen. As he went on with his threshing a stranger greeted him: "Jehovah be with you; my valiant hero, my brave fellow; God be with you!" Now can you remember a time in your life when somebody met you, and said to you one of the commonplace of life; and, instead of responding in the usual way, you broke out upon him, fell upon him, overwhelmed with indignation and fury because of his salutation?

That is what happened with Gideon. "God be with you!" said the stranger. Gideon flung down his flail. "God be with us? Don't talk nonsense, man! Would I be skulking in this winepress, would we Hebrews be cowering before those pagan Midianites, if God were with us? They say God was with us when we came out of Egypt, and that He did great miracles when Joshua conquered this land. Ah! if that is true, then He has gone away and left us now. Don't talk to me about God, when facts prove that there is no God with us." How do you think a modern minister of the orthodox type would have treated a man who had spoken in that fashion about God? Not as the angel treated Gideon. I fear the modern minister would have said, "Here is a most dangerous, blasphemous sceptic, all wrong in his views, full of heretical, unsettling dangerous feelings and ideas"; and he would have sought to argue with him and to put him right. What did the angel? He looked at him, knew he was wrong in blaming God in that fashion, but also that he was right to refuse to accept a religion that had lost all its nobility and bravery, that had no backbone in it. The angel said: "Go in this thy might, thy spirit that cannot tolerate this degradation of God's people, that rises against this wrong; go thou, and be the leader in Jehovah's name, and set things right." Gideon was utterly mistaken, wicked, sinful in blaming God. But do you see, that precisely because he could not settle down to look after his own corn while his neighbour's was being stolen, precisely because he rebelled against the customary pious phrases which cover emptiness, he was picked out to be the reformer and the deliverer of his people?

The Church would be a good deal wiser if it always took care to distinguish between the doubt of corruption and worldliness, the cold, callous, sneering doubt, and the doubt of a brave young heart that doubts because religion is so

poor an affair, that doubts because of the great wrongs in the world, because of the deeds of evil that sin works, that doubts precisely because it is crying for the reality. We should go to every such man, and say: "My brother, you are not an infidel; you are called to be a religious man beyond the common. You are not an atheist. God has hold of you, and wants you for Himself. Go and do something heroic, and show that God's religion is the mightiest force. Go and demand the reality, and win a victory for God and His kingdom such as the world has never seen yet."

I have a strong impression that a century hence, or much less than that, the most believed and accepted religious historians in the Christian Church will say that in our age some of the finest religious perceptions of where God was moving, and what Christ's heart was seeking, appeared, not within the traditional Christian Churches, but outside, and in the form of rebellion against accepted wrongs, the usages and worship of the world, and selfishness—the actual sins, and the curses of our time and of our age. I am glad it should be so. It makes me feel that God's Church and God's kingdom is a vast deal wider than the religious statistics of London, for which I have not much respect, would make it to be.

This book of Judges is a history put together from grand old stories told by father to son for generations in Canaan. Therefore there are various versions combined together, and there are things in them that are poetical and exaggerated. But I think that Gideon's story, as we have it, as it has existed for many centuries, has in it a unique power to supply stimulus and inspiration to noble-hearted young men and maidens. For see how the story goes on. Gideon has had his discontent, his complaint against God suddenly revolutionised and turned into a Divine call to do something heroic; and the man's soul responds to it. The next thing

that flashes into his soul, with the voice and power and majesty of God in it, is this, that he now comprehends that it is not God's slackness after all, but want of zeal on the part of the Israelites, their own moral degradation, their own disloyalty, that had brought them into the state they were in. "How could we Hebrews," he would say, "conquer those Midianites, while we were worshipping gross Baals and the gods of this mountain, and forgetting our own God, Jehovah?" And so the voice of God came to this man of valour, and said: "Begin at home. Set yourself right, and be quite sure that God will soon set the world right." That is the kind of thing I should like to see in many showy preachers and reformers, orthodox and unorthodox. They would do a great deal more for the regeneration of the world, if they would set their own characters and homes right.

The voice of God said to Gideon: "You are to be Israel's leader. You cannot be a leader until you do something that will make men feel that you have a right to command them. The real curse in Israel now is this Baal worship. In your father's own town there is an altar to Baal. Go and break down that altar and desecrate it, and set up an altar to Jehovah there." That night Gideon destroyed the altar of Baal, built an altar to Jehovah, and on it offered sacrifice to the true God. The next morning the population were roused to fury. Some little boy who saw the thing done said, "It was Gideon." And so Gideon and his father had to go and face the enraged populace. The Jehovah worshippers were very lukewarm. Gideon and his father stood very much alone. But the latter had a very shrewd head. When he heard that Gideon must be put to death, the old man stepped forward, and said: "Who are you that are going to be guilty of such sacrilege? An insult has been offered to great Baal, the god of light and thunder and fire; and *you* are going to take up his

cause. *You* are going to put a man to death. He will be very angry with you: he means to do that himself. This god, surely he will avenge himself! I warn you, that the man who steals a march upon that god, as if he could not defend himself, angers him; he will be a dead man before night. Let Baal defend himself. Let Baal strike the man that has injured him." The people all felt that this was very true, and they simply did this. They all looked on Gideon, and said, "Before to-morrow morning he will die a horrible death"; and they gave him the name of Jerubbaal, *i.e.* the man that Baal is going to fight against, the man that has Baal for his antagonist, the man doomed to Baal's wrath. What happened? Nothing, and Gideon henceforth stood out as a possible bulwark of the people.

He had done a daring, a tremendous deed in the name of Jehovah. He had struck down Baal's altar, and the weak-kneed were all watching. "Will Baal avenge himself?" they asked. Baal did not, and it then appeared that Gideon had struck a blow at the superstitious worship of Baal. From that day he was a marked man. He stood out as Jehovah's champion, and was now in a position to put himself forward in a crisis.

Presently the Midianites came against Israel in great force, and Gideon blew the war trumpet. He was soon encamped upon some post of vantage in the pass by which the Midianites were going to force their way. The Midianites numbered about 135,000, perhaps not so many; the Hebrews nearly 32,500. That is to say, the Hebrews were utterly outnumbered. In a situation like that the only hope of victory is by stratagem, and stratagem does not need quantity of soldiers, it needs quality. Every man must have his wits about him and be no coward. Therefore Gideon thinned out his army, and as everybody afraid or half-hearted had to retire from the critical scene, the bulk of his army disappeared; 22,000 men went away. He

is left with 10,000 men. That is far too many for stratagem. They are all plucky fellows, but they may not all be clever fellows. He wants both courageous and capable men. He adopted a simple expedient. He bad them drink. The majority of them unbuckled their swords and eased their armour, and knelt down to drink. Three hundred kept their swords on, and simply with their hands carried the water to their mouths. Gideon said to those three hundred, "You are the men I want." The men that were so eager for battle that they did not think much about their own comfort were the three hundred. The others were good, brave men, but they had not the stuff in them that was in the three hundred.

Gideon then planned to throw the Midianite camp into a panic. He took his three hundred men, and divided them into three bands, each of one hundred. Every man took a trumpet and a pitcher, with a torch hidden in the pitcher. He arranged that each of the hundreds should approach the camp of the Midianites from a different side. On a given signal from Gideon, every man broke his pitcher, took the torch in his left hand, waved it in the night, and blew his trumpet. The Midianites starting to their feet, rubbed their eyes in astonishment. Thinking that they were caught by a large number of Hebrew armies, they fell into utter confusion; and running against each other in the darkness, they slaughtered each other. Those who survived were disorganized and soon took to flight, Gideon following them in hot pursuit. He, with his own chosen followers, his three hundred, took one particular course. But it was impossible for him with this small number to complete his victory, and merely to have dispersed the Midianites was not much of a triumph. The work is not half done: he must exterminate them. To accomplish this he gives the order to the men of Ephraim to intercept the Midianites. The Ephraimites do so, while Gideon is

pursuing the main body, and the victory gained was complete. But on the return of the various bodies of his troops, there was a natural risk that the conquerors would fall out and fight among themselves. The smaller-minded among Gideon's men would meet the late comers with the taunt: "You cowards, you laggards, you left us to do it all!" The reply was naturally a hot accusation against Gideon that he had not called the Ephraimites sooner because he wished to have all the glory for himself. But Gideon had a shrewd head: he was his father's son; and so he only looked at them and said: "What are you talking about? You say we have got the best of the glory and honour? Not at all. Look at the enormous slaughter you have inflicted on the enemy, and you have captured the two leaders, the two princes. It is true that at first we took the vintage; but in this case the gleanings are far greater, bigger, and more glorious than the vintage." The historian enjoys that in the way he puts it: "Then their anger was abated toward him when he had said that." Gideon knew human nature, and his conduct here is a very useful study for those who have to lead and rule even Christian men.

The whole story of Gideon seems contrived to reveal human character. We learn from it how good work is to be done in the face of difficulties. The recreant men in his army, and the men of Succoth and Penuel, were doing their best to prevent his work being done; but, in spite of difficulty, Gideon did a great deal of good work. Gideon had the Divine vocation, but do you think he was always sure of it? No; for when the crisis came, he asked God to give him superstitious signs. That is a bad thing in Gideon. The second time he said, "O God, be not angry." What right had he to demand physical portents and marvels to make sure that he was doing God's work? It is the sight of God's face, the love of His voice, the holy

influence of His Spirit that alone can uplift men. It is the weakness of men's faith that makes them demand miracles. But God takes them even with their superstition, their weakness, their defects, and works great things by them, if only they be true to the light they have. That is the lesson of Gideon's life. There was much primitive grossness in his conception of religion, of war, and of government. Nevertheless the central, sovereign, animating power in the man's soul was an absolute conviction that whatever came he would do the will of the one true, righteous God of heaven and of earth. That made his career glorious; for in so doing he was faithful to the highest light he had access to.

W. G. ELMSLIE.

THE BOOK OF LAMENTATIONS.

OF all the poetical books of the Old Testament this is probably the one least generally known; yet it is the one about which our information is most complete. About the circumstances in which some of these books were produced we know little or nothing; we cannot fix their dates with certainty to within hundreds of years. But we can tell precisely the circumstances in which this book arose; and we can fix its date to within, at the most, a year or two; some think to within a month or two.¹

In the year 583 B.C. the city of Jerusalem was compassed round by the Babylonians, and, after a siege of two years, during which the inhabitants endured all the extremities of such a situation, it fell into the hands of the enemy, who burnt it to the ground and transported the inhabitants, a few excepted, to far off Babylon. Those who stayed behind

¹ Bleek argues that it was written between the surrender and the destruction of the city.

attempted to organize themselves in the empty country. But they were attacked in their weakness by the predatory tribes which lived on the borders, and so harassed, that at last, panic-stricken and demoralised, they set off for Egypt, to seek refuge there.

The book has for its theme this catastrophe of the holy nation, and especially of the holy city; and it is evident that it was written at the time by one who was an eye-witness of the scenes he depicts and felt to the very depths of his soul the horror and pain of the tragedy.¹

There is one man well-known to us who was on the spot during all these events. The prophet Jeremiah had foretold for many years that this calamity was coming upon Jerusalem. But he spoke to deaf ears. The false prophets by whom he was surrounded made light of his warnings and maintained that he was entirely mistaken: the city of Jehovah would never be given over into the hands of the heathen. The people were only too ready to listen to these flatterers; and the heads of the community were so irritated by what they considered Jeremiah's pessimistic croaking, that they shut his mouth by casting him into prison.

It turned out, however, that he was a true prophet; and he lived to see the fulfilment of the worst which he had foretold. He was in Jerusalem all through the siege and the subsequent destruction of the city; and, after the transportation of the inhabitants had taken place, he was among the small remnant who stayed for a time in the country. He resisted the migration to Egypt, but was compelled at last to go with the rest.

It is very natural to suppose that he was the author, therefore, of the book. This, no doubt, is why it is separated in our Bible from the rest of the poetical books

¹ Ewald contends that it was written after the fugitives arrived in Egypt, and was used at a mournful anniversary celebration.

and inserted after Jeremiah's prophecy. In the Septuagint it is introduced with the superscription: "And it came to pass, after Israel was led into captivity, and Jerusalem laid waste, that Jeremiah sat weeping, and lamented with this lamentation over Jerusalem, and said." These words, however, do not occur in the Hebrew, which nowhere gives the name of the author.

Jeremiah has always been supposed to be the author till the present day, when it is the fashion to suppose a new author wherever there is the faintest pretext for doing so.¹ The reasons which have been discovered for attributing Lamentations to another author are of the most microscopic order; but they have appeared sufficient to a certain school. It is allowed, however, that the writer lived at the same time as Jeremiah, and went through the same experience. Bunsen made the suggestion that he may have been Baruch, Jeremiah's loved disciple.

The question is of comparatively little interest, and it has no religious importance whatever. It would be gratifying to know that besides Jeremiah there was another gifted son of Israel in those days, who loved Zion with an affection as profound as is displayed in this book, and was able to express in such lasting literary form the meaning of these tragic events. Nature is hardly, however, so prodigal of her gifts.

The genius of Jeremiah was a rare and peculiar one; but it could not be better expressed than in the profound impression made on the heart of the writer of this book by his country's calamities and the profoundly religious view which he takes of the situation. It is also a noteworthy circumstance that we know from other Scripture that Jeremiah was a lament-writer. Of course a man might be a prophet without having the peculiar gift of the poet. But Jeremiah not only wrote poetry, but this kind of poetry;

¹ Whenever the writer pauses to take breath, says Matthew Arnold.

he wrote a lament on the death of Josiah.¹ There are some peculiarities in the language of the Lamentations which do not occur in Jeremiah's prophecy; but this is no more than might be expected, when a writer was passing from one species of literature to another;² and, on the other hand, there are many striking resemblances, and among them one or two phrases which are so characteristic of Jeremiah's style, that they may almost be called his cipher. By far the most conclusive proof, however, of the authorship is the account of Jeremiah's personal experience given in the third chapter. Here the facts of the prophet's history are described with autobiographic fulness. And who but Jeremiah could have used the opening words of that great chapter, "I am the man that hath seen affliction"? Only some prominent public character could have ventured to apply such a description to himself; and whom does the grandiose phrase fit so well as the typical sufferer of his age?³

¹ Dr. Driver takes no notice of this fact, when giving the reasons *pro* and *con*, in his *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*. I join in the gratitude with which this book has been received. It is an ornament to English theology. But a close examination of it in this case, and in some others where I happen to have some knowledge of my own, does not dispose me to place absolute confidence in it in other cases where I am not able to check it in this way. The air of moderation which it wears is more apparent than real.

² What can be the use of quoting as arguments against Jeremiah's authorship, as Dr. Driver does, single words occurring in Lamentations but not in Jeremiah, when, according to Dr. Driver's own theory, these words were current at the time and as accessible to Jeremiah as to any of his disciples? In a case like this, while striking resemblances of word or phrase are important evidence, minute verbal differences have no weight whatever.

Another argument to which Dr. Driver gives prominence, as proving that at least a portion of the book is not by Jeremiah, is that, while in the three poems after the first two of the initial Hebrew letters change places, they occupy in the first poem their usual positions. But he does not mention the simple suggestion of Ewald, that in the first poem an editorial hand may have altered the arrangement. The verses read better, Ewald thinks, when their initial letters stand as in chapters ii., iii., iv.

³ The interpretation of those who do not accept Jeremiah's authorship of the book is that the nation personified speaks here. But in chapter i. the nation personified is a woman.

The form of this book is of course poetical. But there are certain peculiarities in its poetry which deserve to be noted.

The book is not a continuous poem, but a collection of five separate pieces, all of the same character, and all on the same theme. And the book is so divided in our version that each poem just fills a chapter.

The poems belong to the elegiac species of poetry; and we should call the separate pieces elegies, or dirges, or laments. This kind of poetry seems to have been much cultivated in Israel. We find in the Bible not a few other laments besides those of Jeremiah. They appear to have been frequently composed on the death of persons prominent in the public eye or beloved by a large circle of acquaintance; and very likely they were sung in connexion with the funeral rites. But they might also be composed in commemoration of public calamities; and there are some very remarkable prophetic laments, predicting the destruction of cities with the accompanying scenes of woe.¹

But there is a remarkable peculiarity still to be mentioned in these laments of Jeremiah. The first four of them are acrostics on the Hebrew alphabet. That is to say, the successive verses begin with the successive letters of the alphabet; the first with the letter corresponding to A, the second with B, and so on. And in the great third chapter each successive letter begins three successive verses. The fifth chapter has the same number of verses as it would have if it were an acrostic also; but for some unknown reason the acrostic form is dropped.

This strikes us as a very peculiar thing. It might be expected that a form so artificial must cramp the thought and crush out all naturalness. But it is not uncommon in Hebrew poetry. It appears in several of the Psalms,

¹ Dr. Driver has a valuable note on the form of the biblical lament.

culminating in cxix., where, as is well known, each successive letter of the alphabet begins eight successive verses. It is essentially of the same nature as parallelism, alliteration, metre and rhyme. It appears to be the nature of poetical thought to submit itself to such restraints, and yet be able to move with more grace and freedom than in the slovenly garb of common speech. Odd as this acrostic form seems to us, it probably appeared far more natural to an ancient poet than rhyme would have done, which now is thought so natural. It was apparently resorted to when the material of the poem consisted of a great many somewhat similar remarks, and an artificial thread was needed on which to string the separate thoughts.¹

The picture painted in the Lamentations is one of colossal sorrow. The siege and the sack of cities have always been horrible incidents of warfare; but the enemies by whom Jerusalem was destroyed were noted for their cruelty and ruthlessness. In their own annals and in their artistic delineations of their practices in war, which have been dug in recent times from beneath the sands of the desert, this is made painfully evident. The Babylonians, in the height of their power, not only practised the most outrageous cruelty, but gloried in it. And they had many reasons for not sparing Israel.

A most pitiful description is given by the author of the sufferings endured in the siege, especially from famine. The children swooned with hunger and cried for bread to their mothers, who had none to give. The aged gave up the ghost "while they sought their meat to relieve their souls." The famished crept through the streets like gray and feeble ghosts. Those who all their lives before had fed

¹ Dr. Driver alleges this acrostic form as an argument against attributing the book to Jeremiah, "who in his literary style followed the promptings of nature"!

delicately and been clothed in scarlet were reduced to such extremities that they were willing to part with anything for a morsel of bread. Of the nobles¹ it is said that once "they were purer than snow, they were whiter than milk, they were more ruddy in body than rubies, their polishing was of sapphire": but now, as the effect of famine, "their visage is blacker than a coal;" they are not known in the streets" (so disfigured are they); "their skin cleaveth to their bones; it is withered, it is become like a stick." The dark rumour was even in circulation that mothers, mad with hunger, had sodden their own children.

After the siege came the indescribable horrors of the sack of the city, when the gates were burst open and the brutal soldiery, irritated by long delay, rushed in to wreak their will on the doomed inhabitants. Every home had to endure its own share of cruelty and shame. But above all private grief towered the public calamity. Everything noble and venerable, to which patriotic affection and religious feeling clung, was ruthlessly dishonoured. To crown all, in the temple was heard the ribald noise and shouting of the enemy, loud as had been in happier days the mirth of the solemn festivals. "The adversary hath spread out his hand upon all her pleasant things; for she hath seen that the heathen entered her sanctuary, whom Thou didst command that they should not enter into Thy congregation."

Then followed the deportation of the inhabitants to Babylon, in which king and princes, priests and prophets, high and low, were all mingled in a common degradation; and, as the long procession moved away, they could see, or seemed in their melancholy hearts to see, the ancient and implacable enemies of Israel, such as the Edomites, drawn up along the path as scornful and exultant spectators of their calamity.

A remnant were left behind, among whom was the

¹ In Authorized Version, "Nazarites."

author of Lamentations. But their lot was perhaps the most pitiable of all. Not only were they constantly harassed by the incursions of the skirmishers from the desert and made to live in perpetual fear, but they had before their eyes the ruins of their country and their capital. The gates were sunk in the ground and the bars broken ; the city was a heap of ruins, and silence reigned in the streets. "A sorrow's crown of sorrow is remembering happier things" ; and, as amidst the silence of the deserted city they remembered the days of music and mirth, calling to mind especially the happy pilgrim bands which used to make vocal the roads of the country, now deserted, and to crowd the courts of the temple, now in ruins, no wonder they cried, "How is the gold become dim ! how is the most fine gold changed !"

To all this history of sorrow the author of Lamentations gives the most complete and sympathetic expression. The book is full of tears. "Mine eye runneth down with rivers of water," he says, "for the destruction of the daughter of my people." In the first chapter he personifies Israel as a woman weeping and appealing to the whole world : "Is it nothing to you all ye that pass by ? behold, and see if there be any sorrow like unto my sorrow."

But he had a deeper purpose than merely to give vent to the national grief. All through these poems the minds of the people for whose use they were composed are directed, in a truly prophetic spirit, to the cause of their sufferings. The Babylonians were not the cause : they were merely the instruments of a higher will. It was God who was chastising them ; and they were chastised because they had sinned : "The Lord hath afflicted her for the multitude of her transgressions." "The Lord is righteous ; for I have rebelled against His commandment." Such is the undertone from first to last below the record of calamity ; and the poet seeks to impress on his fellow sufferers that

hope lies only in acknowledging their iniquity and seeking forgiveness from Him against whom they have sinned.

The most remarkable of all the five chapters is the middle one. The other two on each side may be said to lean up against it, while it towers above them. In it Jeremiah comes forward to speak in his own person, beginning with the words already quoted, "I am the man that hath seen affliction." He goes on to give a poetical description of his own history, for the purpose of showing the right way of dealing with trouble.

His fellow-sufferers had just come into trouble, but he had been a man of sorrows all his life. Years before their chastisement arrived, the hand of God had been laid heavily on him: "He bent his bow, and set me as a mark for the arrow. He caused the arrows of His quiver to enter into my reins. I was a derision to all my people, and their song all the day." His personal grief might have been described in the very words which would now describe their public calamity. But he had discovered for himself the way out of trouble, and he could now teach it to them.

At first he had agitated himself and cried out against the hand which was chastising him; his whole being was in tumult and refused to be comforted. But, when he became still and humbled himself, then the day broke and the day-star arose in his heart. The most delightful and comforting truths came pouring into his mind; in the strength of which he surmounted sorrow; and, though outward trouble did not cease, he was able to rise above it.

It is here that there come in a dozen or score of verses totally different from the rest of this book. The rest of the book is steeped in tears; this portion is flushed with sunshine: "It is of the Lord's mercies we are not consumed, because His compassions fail not. They are new every morning; great is Thy faithfulness. The Lord is my portion, saith my soul; therefore will I hope in Him.

The Lord is good unto them that wait for Him, unto the soul that seeketh Him. It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of God. It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth. . . . For the Lord will not cast off for ever; but, though He cause grief, yet will He have compassion according to the multitude of His mercies. For He doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the children of men."

These verses are like a bed of water-lilies lying on the surface of a brackish and desolate mere. The rest of the book may be compared to a sky full of black and dripping clouds, but these verses are like a rainbow arched athwart them. They speak of hope in the depths of desolation, and show the way to reach it. They sound the true evangelic note, which echoes all through the Scripture. They lead up to the proposal with which, at the close of them, Jeremiah appeals to his fellow countrymen, "Let us search and try our way, and turn again to the Lord."

Thus the book has not merely a historical and poetical interest; but it handles with inspired power the problems of sin and suffering, and points out clearly the way to God.

As we close it, the image which remains in our minds is that figure of the Septuagint—Jeremiah seated on the ruins of Jerusalem, with the calamity of his country in all its compass and significance mirrored in his tear-filled heart. And that figure makes our eye travel forward to another. Another son of Israel and lover of Jerusalem, when He was come near, as He descended the Mount of Olives, beheld the city, and wept over it. Strange city! What sons that nation bore! How amazingly they loved her! And how unmotherly was her treatment of them!

Some said, in the days of our Lord's flesh, that He was Jeremiah; and between the prophet and the Saviour there were many resemblances. Both loved the people and the

capital of their country with passionate affection. Both were repaid with deadly cruelty and persecution, and yet they could not cease to love. Each of them was the man of sorrows of his own age. But from the book of Lamentations we may draw a profounder resemblance. Jeremiah in this book attempted to solve the twin mysteries of suffering and sin; and may we not say that to do this was the purpose of the whole life of Christ? Jeremiah solved the mystery well; but it was left for Jesus to give the perfect solution, when He made sin the background on which to display to the universe the glory of love Divine, and when, by His suffering even unto death, He brought to the world joy unspeakable and life eternal.

JAMES STALKER.

ABRAHAM KUENEN.

THE death of Professor Abraham Kuenen, of Leyden, is an event which cannot fail to sadden every honest student of the Old Testament, to whatever school he may belong. "To our great sorrow, our dearly beloved father and brother departed this life to-day (Dec. 10), after a long illness, suddenly but peacefully, at the age of sixty." So runs the mournful notice which gives most of us our only information as to the circumstances of Kuenen's decease. Who has not heard of the great scholar who has left us?—heard of him, perhaps, with pain and regret as an enemy of God's word. Such he was not; his faith was firm and reverent. Note the words in which he expresses the lamentable omission of the quality of "reverence" in Steinthal's definition of religion ("idealism on a naturalistic basis," *Theologisch Tijdschrift*, May, 1886). Could we know the course of Kuenen's development, as we doubtless shall before long, we should have the key to anything that repels English Christians in Kuenen. Perhaps we do not love ideal truth as he did; perhaps we feel that Bible-students must, for the sake of the general progress, put a bridle on their mouth, and check too excessive an individualism. But the more we know Kuenen, the more we shall see that, allowing for his

circumstances, he is much nearer to us than we had supposed. Take the first edition of that monument of critical scholarship, the *Onderzoek* (1861-1865), and see how moderate its results are. And now compare the second (part i., 1885-1887; part ii., 1889). Can it be said that there is any real extremeness in his conclusions? No; Kuenen is still as moderate and as circumspect as ever, but his eye for facts has become keener. I know that he opposed the old supernaturalism, and that he himself admits that his theological convictions may have reacted on his criticisms; but I know that he also assures us that neither his method nor his main results were the outcome of his theological principles. It was through critical exegesis that he came to the conviction that a dogmatic supernaturalism was untenable, and the canons of critical exegesis are independent of theological dogma. Let me confess, however, that what the Germans call *Mystik*, as distinguishable from *Mysticismus*, was comparatively deficient in Kuenen, that was not his *charisma*. His second great work, not the less great from a scientific point of view because it is popular, the epoch-making *Religion of Israel* (published in Holland in 1869), is singularly wanting in really deep and illuminative suggestions on the movement of religious ideas in Israel; we must still turn from Kuenen to Ewald, whose intuition of the chief characteristics both of prophecy and of prophetic religion is far beyond anything to which Kuenen seems to have attained! How clearly this incomplete comprehension of prophecy comes out in a third remarkable work of this great writer, which owes its origin to a liberal-minded Scottish layman (the late Dr. John Muir), entitled, *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel* (1877)! But, as a controversial treatise, few will deny that the book has merits of the highest order; the only question is, whether the opposed doctrine might not have been left to fall of itself, or rather, to be superseded by something far higher and deeper, to which no thoughtful believer would withhold his assent.

Let not the reader blame me for speaking here of Kuenen the theologian. It is one of his merits that he *was* a theologian. Not to him are Delitzsch's words of dislike for a purely critical school of theology (see his correspondence with Martensen) justly applicable. He was indeed chiefly a writer; but he had a theology too. Yes; and he had a heart for the Church, and one of his latest works was the revision of a new popular Dutch translation

of the Old Testament Scriptures. But now let me return for a moment to Kuenen the critic. How great he was, was hardly seen in his lifetime. First, because he wrote in Dutch, and next because he was far above "the last infirmity of noble minds." Read, if you will, a few of his numerous criticisms on books in the Dutch periodical (the *Theologisch Tijdschrift*) of which he was a chief editor. How mild and gracious is his treatment even of those from whom he differs! Fairness one expects in an opponent, but *graciousness*—how seldom is this Christ-like temper found in a critic! I have already said that Kuenen was "moderate"; so he was. Sobriety was the dominant tone of his intellectual character. It was to this sobriety that we owe that vast accumulation of well-arranged facts which meets us in the *Onderzoek*, and in that marvellous series of articles on the criticism of the early narratives contained in the *Tijdschrift*. He was possessed by the genius of order, and it is this which permits us to cherish the hope that the third part of his great work (in the second edition) is sufficiently ready to be printed. For this restless writer was always far in advance of his printer. Alas! the tireless brain is stilled. Suddenly came the summons, but the servant was ready. *Pendent opera interrupta*. But he who has left his work was one who believed in spiritual immortality,

"Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake."

T. K. CHEYNE.

OLD TESTAMENT NOTES.

A New View of Psalm xvi. 1-4.—May we permit our general view of the purport of a psalm to react upon our view of the text of a difficult passage? Professor Wildeboer is convinced that in Psalm xvi. the speaker is not a pious individual, but the Church-nation, in fact, the "Servant of Jehovah," of whom we read in the second part of Isaiah. The psalm is, on this as well as other grounds, not Davidic, but Exilic, or post-Exilic, and we may, in correcting the text of the very obscure second, third, and fourth verses, look for hints to the "Second Isaiah." Now it appears to Professor Wildeboer (of Groningen) that there is an allusion in vers. 2 and 3 to Isaiah lxii. 4 (Benlah . . .

Hephzi-bah), and with this clew and the help of the Septuagint he proceeds to correct the text with the following result.

1. A Davidic jewel [*nichtam*]. Preserve me, O God, for with thee do I seek refuge. 2. I say unto Jehovah [Yahveh]: Lord, thou art the good of (the people which thy prophet called), thy "wedded one" [נְשִׂאִי]. 3. To the holy ones who dwell in the land (say I therefore), They are the noble ones (of whom that saying is true), "In them is all my delight." They increase their own pains who give the dowry [*mōhar*] to another (god); (but) I will not pour out their libations of blood, nor take their name upon my lips [Exod. xxiii. 31].

The reader will do well to compare the Septuagint and the Peshitto. Mr. Burgess, as our author remarks, has already taken a hint from the latter; he produces the poor rendering, ". . . My goods are at thy disposal." There are great difficulties however in Professor Wildeboer's version. In ver. 2 the rhythm requires a pause at נְשִׂאִי. It would be more natural to render, "I say unto Jehovah: My Lord art thou, my (one earthly) good is thy wedded one (the people which thy prophet called Jehovah's Beulah, or 'wedded one')." But then, of course, an *individual* must be the speaker, and the psalm must be divided (like other psalms) between the Church-nation and any pious Israelite. In ver. 3, I am doubtful about the excision of the י in נְשִׂאִי, and about the strange genitive to אֶדְרִי. In ver. 4, I cannot help thinking the sense given to סָהָר difficult, in spite of Professor Wildeboer's reference to the Arabic *mahr*. In Hebrew usage, so far as we know, סָהָר is always the purchase-money which the bridegroom gives to the bride's father. The theory is very ingenious, and shows at any rate that the author is not satisfied with Baethgen's very clever emendation of ver. 3 in accordance with the Septuagint, illustrated by Isaiah xlii. 21. For my own part, I still think that הָפְזָה . . . לְקִרְיָשִׁים is a gloss. (The above "new view" is set forth in one of the articles which together constitute a tribute of respect to Professor de Goeje on occasion of his professorial jubilee, *Feestbundel aan Prof. M. J. de Goeje*, etc., Leiden, 1891).

The Hebrew Idea of Wisdom.—It is well known that, according to some advanced critics, the book of Proverbs bears the stamp of the pure theology of the post-Exilic age. In connexion with this it will be not unimportant to inquire whether

the growth of the conception of the heavenly Wisdom, found in Proverbs viii., may not have been facilitated by the analogous conception of the *āsnya khratu* or *āsno-khart* found in the *Avesta* and in the (very late) *Minôkhired*. No doubt the description of this heavenly wisdom (which Ahura Mazda had before all heavenly and earthly creations) in the latter book has been influenced by a Hellenizing intellectual movement; Dastur Jamasp Asa in vain attempts to prove that Hellenism borrowed from Zoroastrianism. But the fundamental idea is clearly pure Zoroastrian; it belongs to the same circle of ideas as the other personified qualities and Divine attributes.¹ When for instance we read in Yasna xxii. 25, "For the propitiation of the Zarathustrian law, (and) of the understanding which is innate and Mazda-made," we are not in Greek, but in Persian surroundings, and we have a right to infer that wise men of Israel who knew something of Zoroastrianism might have heard of the heavenly wisdom. See *Oxford Zendavesta* i. 4, and Darmesteter's note; Shiegel, *Iranische Alterthümer* ii. 34; Casartelli, *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanians* (Bombay), p. 41; and cf. the comparison which I have ventured to institute between the Hebrew and the Zoroastrian conceptions of the Divine glory in the *Expository Times*, August, 1891, p. 252.

Jewish Influence on Persian Beliefs.—It is well known that Persian influence upon Judaism increased considerably in the first four Christian centuries. But we have not yet found evidence of Jewish influence on Persian beliefs or forms of worship during the same period. M. James Darmesteter has given much attention of late to the Pehlevi texts relative to Judaism, and shown that under the Sassanid kings the conditions were altogether favourable to a reciprocity of religious influences (see *Revue des études juives* xviii. 1–15, xix. 41–56). He has now published a Parsi prayer to Ormazd, called *Namâzi Ormazd*, which is upon the whole both beautiful in itself and remarkable as containing passages which are certainly derived from Judaism.²

¹ So Mr. Alger, in his *Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*, sees no reason to believe "that important Christian ideas have been interpolated into the old Zoroastrian religion." The *Dastur* referred to above quotes this passage (in the translation of Casartelli) on his side; but Mr. Alger carefully guards himself by inserting the word "old."

² *Une prière judéo-persane*. Par James Darmesteter. Paris, 1891.

Ver. 7 begins thus: "O Créateur, je te remercie de ce que tu m'as fait iranien et de la bonne religion."

Ver. 11 contains these words: "Merci à toi, O Créateur, de ce que tu m'as fait de la race des hommes: . . . de ce que tu m'as créé libre et non esclave: de ce que tu m'as créé homme et non pas femme."

These passages at once recall three of the benedictions in the Jewish morning prayer:

"Blessed art Thou, O Eternal, our God, King of the world, who hast not made me a heathen nor, originally, who hast made me an Israelite."

Blessed art Thou, O Eternal, our God, King of the world, who hast not made me a slave.

Blessed art Thou, O Eternal, our God, King of the world, who hast not made me a woman."

These three Jewish benedictions have a history. They have a different origin from the series of blessings in which they are inserted. This series admittedly comes from the schools of Babylonia: the Babylonian Talmud ascribes it to rabbins of the third and fourth centuries A.D. But the three inserted blessings are more ancient, and come from Palestine. After proving that the latter were not inspired by Zoroastrianism, M. Darmesteter argues convincingly that the parallel passages in the *Namâ-i Ormazd* were borrowed from the Jewish formulæ in the fourth or at the beginning of the fifth century, when learned Jews were all-powerful at the Sassanid court. Would that we could discover equally direct evidence as to the relations between the Zoroastrian and the Mosaic religion, in the pre-Maccabean period! But we may be sure at any rate that the Jews must have looked with respect on a religion, honoured in the person of Cyrus by one of their greatest prophets, and presenting such striking affinities with their own. Nor is probable evidence of religious intercourse between the Persians and the Jews altogether wanting.

T. K. CHEYNE.

DR. DRIVER'S INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

PART I.

THE much fuller adhesion of Professor Driver to the still struggling cause of Old Testament criticism is an event in the history of this study. That many things indicated it as probable, can doubtless now be observed; but until the publication in the *Contemporary Review* (February, 1890) of a singularly clear and forcible paper on the criticism of the historical books, it was impossible to feel quite sure where Dr. Driver stood. Up to the year 1882, he was known through various learned publications (notably that on the Hebrew Tenses) as an honest and keen-sighted Hebrew scholar, but in matters of literary and historical criticism he had not as yet committed himself, except of course to the non-acceptance of any such plainly unphilological view as the Solomonic authorship of Ecclesiastes.¹ In 1882, to the great benefit of Hebrew studies, he succeeded Dr. Pusey at Christ Church, and began at once to improve to the utmost the splendid opportunities of his position both for study and for teaching. He now felt it impossible to confine himself within purely linguistic limits, however much from a conscientious regard for the "weak brethren" he may have desired to do so. It is true that in his first published critical essay, he approached the "higher criticism" from the linguistic side (*Journal of Philology*, 1882, pp. 201-236), but there are evidences enough in the pages of *The Guardian* and of THE EXPOSITOR that he was quietly and unobtrusively feeling his way towards a

¹ *Hebrew Tenses*, § 133 (ed. 2, p. 151).

large and deep comprehension of the critical and exegetical problems of the Hexateuch. Nor must the old lecture-lists of the University be forgotten. These would prove, if proof were needed, that his aspirations were high, and his range of teaching wide, and that the sketch of his professorial functions given in his excellent inaugural lecture was being justified. To the delightful obligation of lecturing on the Hebrew texts, we owe a singularly complete and instructive volume on the Hebrew of Samuel (1890), the earnest of other volumes to come. And that Dr. Driver did not shrink from touching the contents of the Old Testament, the outsider may divine from a small and unostentatious work,¹ which forms an admirable popular introduction to the devout critical study of certain chapters of Genesis and Exodus. In 1888 came the excellent though critically imperfect handbook on Isaiah (in the "Men of the Bible" Series), which very naturally supersedes my own handbook published in 1870.² In 1891 we received the valuable introduction which forms the subject of this notice, and some time previously we ought, I believe, to have had before us the articles on the books of the Pentateuch which Dr. Driver had contributed to the new edition of Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*.

So now Dr. Driver's long suspense of judgment is to a great extent over. The mystery is cleared up, and we know very nearly where he now stands. If any outsider has a lingering hope or fear of an imminent counter-revolution from the linguistic side, he must not look to Dr. Driver to justify it. The qualities which are here displayed by the author are not of the sensational order, as

¹ *Critical Notes on the International Sunday School Lessons from the Pentateuch* for 1887. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1887.)

² It is only just to myself to say that this work is in no sense, as a hostile writer in *The Guardian* states, "a youthful production," but was written at an age when some men nowadays are professors, and both was and is respectfully referred to by German critics.

a brief summary of them will show. First, there is a masterly power of selection and condensation of material. Secondly, a minute and equally masterly attention to correctness of details. Thirdly, a very unusual degree of insight into critical methods, and of ability to apply them. Fourthly, a truly religious candour and openness of mind. Fifthly, a sympathetic interest in the difficulties of the ordinary orthodox believer. Willingly do I mention these points. Dr. Driver and I are both engaged in a work—

“Too great for haste, too high for rivalry,”

and we both agree in recognising the law of generosity. But I must add that I could still more gladly have resigned this privilege to another. For I cannot profess to be satisfied on all really important points with Dr. Driver's book. And if I say what I like, I must also mention what I—not indeed dislike—but to a certain extent regret. But why should I take up the pen? Has not the book had praise and (possibly) dispraise enough already? If I put forward my objections, will not a ripe scholar like Dr. Driver have an adequate answer from his own point of view for most of them? Why should I not take my ease, and enjoy even the less satisfactory parts of the book as reflexions of the individuality of a friend? And the answer is, Because I fear that the actual position of Old Testament criticism may not be sufficiently understood from this work, and because the not inconsiderable priority of my own start as a critic gives me a certain vantage-ground and consequently a responsibility which Dr. Driver cannot and would not dispute with me. I will not now repeat what I have said with an entirely different object in the Introduction to my *Bampton Lectures*, but on the ground of those facts I am bound to make some effort to check the growth of undesirable illusions, or, at any rate, to contribute something to the formation of clear ideas in the popular mind.

I must here beg the reader not to jump to the conclusion that I am on the whole opposed to Dr. Driver. As I have already hinted, the points of agreement between us are much more numerous than those of difference, and in many respects I am well content with his courage and consistency. The debt which Dr. Driver owes to those scholars who worked at Old Testament criticism before him he has in good part repaid. He came to this subject theologically and critically uncommitted, and the result is that, in the main, he supports criticism with the full weight of his name and position. There is only one objection that I have to make to the *Introduction*. It is however three-fold: 1. the book is to a certain extent a compromise; 2. the (partial) compromise offered cannot satisfy those for whom it is intended; 3. even if it were accepted, it would not be found to be safe. Let us take the first point. My meaning is, that Dr. Driver is free in his criticism up to a certain point, but then suddenly stops short, and that he often blunts the edge of his decisions, so that the student cannot judge of their critical bearings. I will endeavour to illustrate this from the book, and, in doing so, never to forget the "plea" which Dr. Driver so genially puts in to be "judged leniently for what he has *not* said" (Preface, p. ix.). At present, to clear the ground for future "lenient" or rather friendly criticisms, let me only remark that I am not myself opposed on principle to all "stopping short," i.e. to all compromise. In June and August, 1889, I submitted to those whom it concerned a plan of reform in the teaching of the Old Testament, which included a large provisional use of it.¹ My earnest appeal was indeed not responded to. Even my friend Dr. Sanday passes it over in his well-known recent work,² and praises the waiting attitude of our more liberal bishops. But I still reiterate

¹ See *Contemporary Review*, August, 1889.

² *The Oracles of God* (1891).

the same appeal for a compromise, though I couch it differently. It is not at all hard to find out what results of criticism are most easily assimilated by thinking laymen, and most important for building up the religious life. Let those results be put forward, with the more generally intelligible grounds for them, first of all for private study, and then, with due regard to local circumstances, in public or semi-public teaching. To *practical* compromises I am therefore favourable, but this does not bind me to approve of *scientific* ones. The time for even a partly apologetic criticism or exegesis is almost over; nothing but the "truest truth" will serve the purposes of the best contemporary students of theology. This indeed is fully recognised in the preface of the editors of the "Library" to which this book belongs, the object of which is defined as being "adequately (to) represent the present condition of investigation, and (to) indicate the way for further progress."

I regret therefore that Dr. Driver did not leave the task of forming a distinctively Church criticism (of which even now I do not deny the value for a certain class of students) to younger men,¹ or to those excellent persons who, after standing aloof for years, now begin to patronize criticism, saying, "Thus far shalt thou come, but no farther!" I heartily sympathize with Dr. Driver's feelings, but I think that there is a still "more excellent way" of helping the better students, viz., to absorb the full spirit of criticism (not of *irreligious* criticism), and to stand beside the foremost workers, only taking care, in the formulation of results, frankly to point out their religious bearings, of which no one who has true faith need be afraid. I know that this might perhaps have involved other modifications of Dr. Driver's plan; but I cannot help this. I do not feel

¹ A popular semi-critical book on the origin of the Old Testament Scriptures might be of great use for schools and Bible-classes.

called upon to sketch here in outline the book that might have been, but I could not withhold this remark, especially as I am sure that even Dr. Driver's very "moderate" textbook will appear to many not to give hints enough concerning the religious value of the records criticised. And forcible, judicious, and interesting as the preface is, I do not feel that the author takes sufficiently high ground. I am still conscious of an unsatisfied desire for an inspiring introductory book to the Old Testament, written from the combined points of view of a keen critic and a progressive evangelical theologian.

Next, as to the second point. Can this compromise (or, partial compromise) satisfy orthodox judges? It is true that Dr. Driver has one moral and intellectual quality which might be expected to predispose such persons specially in his favour—the quality of caution. The words "moderation" and "sobriety" have a charm for him; to be called an extreme critic, or a wild theorist, would cause him annoyance. And this "characteristic caution" has not failed to impress a prominent writer in the most influential (Anglican) Church paper. The passage is at the end of the first part of a review of the *Introduction*,¹ and the writer hazards the opinion that, on the most "burning" of all questions Dr. Driver's decision contains the elements of a working compromise between the old views and the new. But how difficult it is to get people to agree as to what "caution" and "sobriety" are! For if we turn to the obituary notices of the great Dutch critic who has lately passed away, we find that he strikes some competent observers as eminently cautious and sober-minded, not moving forward till he has prepared the way by careful investigation, and always distinguishing between the certain and the more or less probable. And again, it appears from the recent Charge of Bishop Ellicott that this

¹ *Guardian*, November 25, 1891.

honoured theologian (who alas! still stands where he stood in earlier crises) sees no great difference between the critical views of Kuenen and Wellhausen on the one hand, and those of Dr. Driver and "the English Analytical School" on the other. If the former have "lost all sense of proportion" and been "hurried" to extreme results by an "almost boundless self-confidence," the latter have, by their "over-hasty excursions into the Analytical" prepared the way for "shaken and unstable minds" to arrive at results which are only a little more advanced.¹ And in perfect harmony with Bishop Ellicott's denial of the possibility of "compromise," I find a writer of less sanguine nature than Dr. Driver's reviewer warning the readers of the *Guardian* that the supposed *rapprochement* will not "form a bridge solid enough to unite the opposite sides of the chasm" between the two schools of thought.²

This is in my opinion a true saying. Some of those to whom Dr. Driver's compromise is addressed will (like Bishop Ellicott) be kept aloof by deep theological differences. Others, whose minds may be less definitely theological, will place their hope in a critical "counter-revolution" (see p. 82), to be effected either by an induction from linguistic facts, or by means of cuneiform and archæological discovery. I do not speak without cause, as readers of popular religious journals will be aware. The limits of Dr. Driver's work did not permit him to refer to this point; but considering the avidity with which a large portion of the public seizes upon assertions backed by some well-known name, it may soon become necessary for him and for others to do so. Upon a very slender basis of reason and of facts an imposing structure of revived and "rectified"³ tradition-

¹ *Christus Comprobator* (1891), pp. 29, 59. I cannot help respectfully protesting against the title of this work.

² *Guardian*, December 2, 1891.

³ I borrow the word from Bishop Ellicott.

alism may soon be charmed into existence. We may soon hear again the confident appeal to the "common sense" of the "plain Englishman"—that invaluable faculty which, according to Bishop Ellicott, is notably wanting, "*if it be not insular prejudice to say so*," in all recent German critics of the Old Testament. Critical and historical sense (which is really the perfection of common sense, trained by right methods, and assisted by a healthy imagination) may continue to be treated with contempt, and Dr. Driver's book may receive credit, not for its substantial merits, but for what, by comparison, may be called its defects. These are real dangers; nay, rather to some extent they are already facts which cannot but hinder the acceptance of this well-meant compromise.

And, lastly, as to the third point. Is even a partial compromise like this safe? I am afraid that it is not. It implies that Biblical criticism must be pared down for apologetic reasons. It assumes that though the traditional theory of the origin and (for this is, in part, allusively dealt with) the historic value of the Old Testament books, has been overthrown, yet we must in our reconstruction keep as close to the old theory or system as we can. This, at the present stage of intellectual development, is unsafe. Dr. Driver's fences are weak, and may at any moment be broken down. Nothing but the most *fearless* criticism, combined with the most genuine spiritual faith in God, and in His Son, and in the Holy Spirit, can be safe. I do not of course judge either friends or foes by their expressed theories. If it should be made decidedly the more probable view that St. John did *not* originate the Fourth Gospel as it now stands, I am sure, in spite of Dr. Sanday's recent words,¹ that all truly religious students would believe, with heart and with head, as strongly as ever in the incomparable nature and the divine mediatorship of Jesus Christ.

¹ *Contemporary Review*, October, 1891, p. 530.

They would do so on the ground of the facts which would still be left by the historical analysis of the Gospels, and on the correspondence between a simple Christian view of those facts and the needs of their own and of the Church's life. And so I am sure that without half so many qualifications as Dr. Driver has given, the great facts left, not to say recovered, by advanced Old Testament criticism are quite sufficient to justify the theory of Hebrews i. 1, which is, I doubt not, of permanent importance for the thinking Christian.

Before passing on, let me crave permission to make two remarks, which may perhaps take off any undue sharpness from previous criticisms. The first is, that in criticising the author, I am equally criticising myself. There was a time when I was simply a Biblical critic, and was untouched by the apologetic interest. Finding that this course cramped the moral energies, I ventured to superadd the function of the "Christian advocate" (of course only in the modern sense of this indispensable phrase). The plan to which I was led (for I do not doubt that the most obscure workers *are* led) was to *adapt* Old Testament criticism and exegesis to the prejudices of orthodox students by giving the traditional view, in its most refined form, the benefit of the doubt, whenever there was a sufficiently reasonable case for doubt. This is what the Germans call *Vermittelung*, and I think that as late as ten or twelve years ago *Vermittelung* was sorely needed. But now, as it seems to me, we have got beyond this. *Vermittelung* has become a hindrance, not only to the progress of historical truth, but to the fuller apprehension of positive evangelical principles. The right course for those who would be in the van of progress seems to be that which I have faintly indicated above, and too imperfectly carried out in my more recent works. A perfectly free but none the less devout criticism is, in short, the best ally, both of spiritual religion and of a sound apologetic theology.

The second is, that in Dr. Driver's case the somewhat excessive caution of his critical work can be accounted for, not merely by a conscientious regard to the supposed interests of the Church, but by his peculiar temperament and past history. In the variety of temperaments God has appointed that the specially cautious one shall not be wanting; and this, like all His works, is no doubt "very good." Caution, like other useful qualities, needs to be sometimes represented in an intensified degree. And Hebrew grammar in England urgently needed a more cautious, more exact treatment. This Dr. Driver felt at the outset of his course, and all recent Hebrew students owe him a debt of gratitude. But what was the natural consequence of his long devotion to the more exact, more philological study of the Hebrew Scriptures? This—that when he deliberately enlarged his circle of interests, he could not see his way as far nor as clearly as those critics of wider range, who had entered on their career at an earlier period. Indeed, even apart from the habits of a pure philologist, so long a suspension of judgment on critical points must have reacted somewhat upon Dr. Driver's mind, and made it at first very difficult for him to form decisions. These have been real hindrances, and yet to what a considerable extent he has overcome them! How much advanced criticism has this conscientious churchman—this cautious Hebraist—been able to absorb? And how certainly therefore he has contributed to that readjustment of theology to the general intellectual progress which is becoming more and more urgent!

I now proceed to such a survey of the contents of the work as my limits render possible. The preface states, in lucid and dignified language, the author's critical and religious point of view, which is that of all modern-minded and devout Old Testament critics. Then follows an introduction on the Old Testament Canon according to the

Jews, which gives *multum in parvo*, and is thoroughly sound. It was desirable to prefix this because of a current assertion that critical views are in conflict with trustworthy Jewish traditions.¹ So now the student is free, both in a religious and in a historical respect, to consider the proposed solutions of the literary problems of the Old Testament, and the accompanying views respecting the objects of the several records. The books are treated in the order of the Hebrew Bible, beginning with those of the Hexateuch, and ending with Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles. To the Hexateuch 150 pages are devoted—a perfectly fair allotment, considering the great importance of these six books. The plan adopted here, and throughout the composite narrative books, appears to be this: after some preliminary remarks, the particular book is broken up into sections and analysed, with a view to ascertain the documents or sources which the later compiler or redactor welded together into a whole.² The grounds of the analysis are given in small print, without which judicious arrangement the book would have outrun its limits. A somewhat different plan is necessary for Deuteronomy, which is treated more continuously, special care being taken to exhibit the relation of the laws to the other codes, and to trace the dependence of the two historical retrospects in chapters i., iii., and ix.-x. on the earlier narrative of "JE." Then follows a very important section on the character and probable date of the "prophetical," and the "priestly" narratives respectively, followed by a compact synopsis of the priestly code. As regards the analysis of the documents, it would be difficult, from a teacher's point of view,

¹ I have no intention of criticising Dr. Driver's very useful lists of books. It is however a strange accident that he only mentions Wildeboer's recent work on the Canon, and not Buhl's. Each of these books, of course, has high merits of its own.

² Note especially the care bestowed on the composite narrative of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram in Num. xvi.-xvii. (p. 59).

to say too much in praise of the author's presentation. *Multum in parvo* is again one's inevitable comment. The space has been utilized to the utmost, and the student, who will be content to work hard, will find no lack of lucidity. No one can deny that the individuality of the writer, which is in this part very strongly marked, fits him in a special degree to be the interpreter of the analysts to young students. One only asks that the cautious reserve, which is here not out of place, may not be contrasted by that untrained "common sense," which is so swift to speak, and so slow to hear, with the bolder but fundamentally not less cautious procedure of other English or American analysts. Such remarks will, I am sure, be disapproved of by the author himself, who willingly refers to less reserved critics. And Dr. Driver's fellow-workers will, on their side, have nothing but respect for his helpful contributions. It should be added that whatever is vitally important is fully granted by Dr. Driver. The documents J, E, D, and P, are all recognised; and if the author more frequently than some critics admits a difficulty in distinguishing between J and E, yet this is but a formal difference. Moreover, no one doubts that J and E were combined together by an editor or (Kuenen) "harmonist," so that we have three main records in the Hexateuch—the prophetic (JE), the Deuteronomic (D), and the priestly (P). On the limits of these three records critics of different schools are practically agreed.

And now, will the author forgive me if I say that neither here nor in the rest of the Hexateuch portion does he, strictly speaking, verify the description of the object of the "Library" given by the general editors? The book, as it seems to me, does not, upon the whole, so much "represent the present condition of investigation, and indicate the way for future progress" as exhibit the present position of a very clear-headed but slowly moving scholar, who stands

a little aside from the common pathway of critics? For the majority of English students this may conceivably be a boon; but the fact (if it be a fact) ought to be borne in mind, otherwise the friends and the foes of the literary study of the Old Testament will alike be the victims of an illusion. There is a number of points of considerable importance for the better class of students on which the author gives no light, though I would not impute this merely to his natural caution, but also to the comparative scantiness of his space. For instance, besides J, E, D, P, and, within P, H (*i.e.* the "Law of Holiness," Lev. xvii.-xxvi.), I find now and then recognised both D² and P², but not J² and E², though it is impossible to get on long without these symbols, which correspond to facts. Nor do I find any mention of the source and date of Genesis xiv., upon which so many contradictory statements have been propounded. Nor is there any constructive sketch of the growth of our present Hexateuch, though this would seem necessary to give coherence to the ideas of the student. It would however be ungracious to dwell further on this. On the dates of the documents J and E, Dr. Driver is unfortunately somewhat indefinite. It is surprising to learn that "it must remain an open question whether both (J and E) may not in reality be earlier" (*i.e.* earlier than "the early centuries of the monarchy"). I can of course understand that, had the author been able to give a keener analysis of the documents, he would have favoured us with a fuller consideration of their period. But I do earnestly hope that he is not meditating a step backwards in deference to hostile archæologists.¹ One more startling phenomenon I seem bound to mention. On p. 27 we are told that—

¹ I am in sympathy with Prof. Sayce's statements in the *Contemporary Review*, September, 1890, but disagree widely with his papers on Genesis xiv. in the *Newbury House Magazine* and elsewhere, and especially with his (unconsciously) misleading article in the *Expository Times*, December, 1891. He is not however so far astray on the subject of the "higher criticism" as M.

"Probably the greater part of the Song is Mosaic, and the modification, or expansion, is limited to the closing verses; for the general style is antique, and the triumphant tone which pervades it is just such as might naturally have been inspired by the event which it celebrates."

I greatly regret this. To fall behind Ewald, Dillmann, and even Delitzsch and Kittel,¹ is a misfortune which I can only account for on the theory of compromise. I hesitate to contemplate the consequences which might possibly follow from the acceptance of this view.

This naturally brings me to the pages on the authorship and date of Deuteronomy. There is here very much which commands one's entire approbation, especially with an eye to English readers. Candour is conspicuous throughout, and whenever one differs from the author, it is reluctantly and with entire respect. The section begins thus:—

"Even though it were clear that the first four books of the Pentateuch were written by Moses, it would be difficult to sustain the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy. For, to say nothing of the remarkable difference of style, Deuteronomy conflicts with the *legislation* of Exodus-Numbers in a manner that would not be credible were the legislator in both one and the same" (p. 77). And in particular "when the laws of Deuteronomy are compared with those of P such a supposition becomes impossible. For in Deuteronomy language is used implying that *fundamental institutions of P are unknown to the author.*"² Sufficient

Halévy (see the latter's review of Kautzsch and Socin's *Genesis*, *Revue critique*, September 14–21, 1891). But I will not on these accounts change my own attitude of discipleship towards Assyriologists, but will continue to compare their statements and use them with due discrimination. The fully critical use of the precious Tell-el-Amarna tablets is, of course, still in the future. Let not English Assyriological students imagine that the "higher critics" have no room for fresh facts!

¹ See, besides the works cited by Dr. Driver, Lagarde, *Semitica*, i. 28; Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, p. 239; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 374 [352]; Cornill, *Einleitung*, pp. 68, 69; Kittel, *Geschichte*, i. 83, 187; and my *Bampton Lectures* (which give my own view since 1881), pp. 81, 177.

² Here, as always in quotations, the italics are those of the author.

specimens of the evidence for these statements are given with a reference for further particulars to the article "Deuteronomy" in the belated new edition of Smith's *Dictionary*. I look forward with eagerness to the appearance of this article, and meantime venture to state how I have been struck by the author's treatment of the question of *date*. Whatever I say is to be taken with all the qualifications arising from my high opinion of the author, and demanded by a fair consideration of his narrow limits.

In the first place, then, I think that on one important point Dr. Driver does not quite accurately state the prevailing tendency of recent investigations. No one would gather from p. 82, note 2, that criticism is more inclined to place the composition of the original Book in the reign of Josiah than in that of Manasseh. Such, however, is the case. Delitzsch himself says regretfully, "It will scarcely be possible to eradicate the ruling critical opinion that Deuteronomy was composed in the time of Jeremiah."¹

If this view of the tendency of criticism is correct, it would have been helpful to state the grounds on which the reign of Josiah has been preferred. May I venture to put them together briefly thus? Let the student read once more, with a fresh mind, the famous narrative in 2 Kings xxii. He can hardly fail to receive the impression that the only person who is vehemently moved by the perusal of "the law-book" (more strictly, "the book of *tōrah*") is the king. How is this to be accounted for? How is it that Hilkiah, Shaphan, and Huldah display such imperturbability? Most easily by the supposition that these three persons (to whom we must add Ahikam, Achbor, and Asaiah) had agreed together, unknown to the king, on their course of action. It may be thought strange that all these, except Hilkiah and

¹ Preface by Delitzsch to Curtiss's *Levitical Priests* (1877), p. x. The latest introduction (that of Cornill) verifies this prognostication.

Huldah, were courtiers. But they were also (as we partly know, partly infer) friends of the prophet Jeremiah, and therefore no *mere* courtiers. Huldah, moreover, though the wife of a courtier, was herself a prophetess. We must suppose, then, in order to realize the circumstances at once historically and devoutly, that to the priests and prophets who loved spiritual religion God had revealed that now was the time to take a bold step forward, and accomplish the work which the noblest servants of Jehovah had so long desired. The "pen of the scribes" (Jer. viii. 8) had been recently consecrated to this purpose by the writing down of the kernel of what we now call Deuteronomy. This document consisted of ancient laws adapted to present purposes, and completed by the addition of recent or even perfectly new ones, framed in the spirit of Moses and under the sacred authority of priests and prophets, together with earnest exhortations and threatenings. It had apparently been placed in a repository beside the ark (comp. Deut. xxxi. 9, 26),¹ and there (if we may so interpret the words "in the house of Jehovah") Hilkiah professed to Shaphan "the secretary" to have "found" it. One of those seeming "chances" which mark the interposing hand of God favoured the project of Hilkiah. Repairs on a large scale had been undertaken in the temple, and with his mind set on the restoration of the material "house of God," Josiah was all the more likely to be interested in the re-edification of His spiritual house. So Shaphan reported the "finding," and read the book in the ears of the king. The king recog-

¹ Deuteronomy xxxi. 9 belongs to the main body of Deuteronomy, whereas ver. 26 (as a part of vv. 24-30) belongs to the editor. According to Dillmann, however, vv. 24-26a (down to "Jehovah your God") originally stood after vv. 9-13, and belong to Deuteronomy proper. But in any case it is certain that the editor *rightly interpreted* the "delivering" of the Torah to the "Levitical priests," when he made Moses say, "Take this law-book, and put it beside the ark." For of course the persons addressed were to carry both the ark and the "bag" or "box" (*argāz*, see 1 Sam. vi. 8, 11, 15) which contained the most sacred objects of religion.

nised the voice of Moses ; this was not one of those law-books which Jeremiah ascribed to "the *lying* pen of scribes." The result is matter of history to all at any rate but the followers of M. Maurice Vernes.

It may doubtless be urged against this view of the circumstances that we have enlisted the imagination in the service of history. But why should we not do so? Of course, we would very gladly dispense with this useful but dangerous ally, but is there a single historical critic, a single critical historian, who is not often obliged to invite its help? Certainly in the case of 2 Kings xxii., which is an extract from a larger and fuller document, it is impossible not to endeavour to fill up *lacunæ* with the help of the imagination. The alternative view—that the "law-book" was written in the reign of Manasseh—is not one which commends itself to the historic sense. Even supposing that some ardent spirit conceived the idea of a reformation by means of a "law-book," yet there is a gulf between such an idea and its successful accomplishment. No prophecy pointed to the advent of a reforming king (1 Kings xiii., as consistent critics agree, is of very late origin); we cannot therefore appeal to the analogy of Ezekiel's ideal legislation. The hopeful and practical spirit which pervades the Book is inconsistent with a time of reaction, when it seemed to a prophet that the "good man" had "perished out of the earth," and that there was "none upright among men" (Mic. vii. 2). I admit that the prophecy from which I have just quoted (Mic. vi. 1-vii. 6), and which was probably written under Manasseh, reminds us somewhat, at the outset, of Deuteronomy, but the gloomy and indignant tone which predominates in it is entirely alien to the great "law-book." The assertion that the date of Deuteronomy must be pushed up a little higher to allow time for literary style to sink to the level of Jeremiah is a doubtful one. Certainly Jeremiah's style is less pure than that of Deuter-

onomy (as Kleinert has well shown). But who would maintain that in all the different literary circles of Jerusalem at the same period an equally pure style was in vogue? Proverbs i.-ix. is placed by critics, with whom Dr. Driver (p. 382) seems inclined to agree, in the reign of Josiah, and here at least we have an elevated, oratorical diction, with very little Aramaism. Jeremiah himself was too emotional to be either a purist or an artist. What is the most obvious conclusion from all these facts and indications? Surely this—that while the heathenish reaction under Manasseh, by knitting the faithful together and forcing them to meditate on their principles and on the means of applying these to practice, created some of the conditions under which alone “Deuteronomy” could arise, it is not the period in which the Book (*i.e.*, its kernel) can have been composed. Instead of saying, “not later than the reign of Manasseh” (p. 82), it would have been truer to the actual state of critical study, to say (against M. Vernes), “by no possibility later than the eighteenth year of the reign of Josiah.”

Indeed, the sole advantage of Dr. Driver's present theory is that it will enable popular writers to defend Hilkiah the more easily from the charge (which conservative scholars sometimes imagine to be involved in the other theory) of complicity in a “forgery.” But may it not be questioned whether even for popular writers it is not best to approach as near as they can to the truth? The test of a forgery suggested by Mr. Gore, viz. to find out whether the writer of a particular book could have afforded to disclose the method and circumstances of his production, can be successfully stood by the writer of Deuteronomy. Hilkiah, as representing this writer,¹ could well have afforded to make

¹ Hilkiah may possibly (in spite of Deut. xviii. 6-8) have had to do with the composition of the Book. He was certainly concerned in its publication, and, as Faudissin remarks, was probably above the narrow class-feelings of his corporation.

such a disclosure to literary students familiar with the modes of thought of priestly and prophetic writers. But was Josiah such a student, and even if he were, was this a time for any such minute explanation? Practical wisdom required that the account given to Josiah should be the same which would have to be given to the people at large. The Book *was* "the *tōrah* of Moses," and the basis of the legal portion of it (viz. the "Book of the Covenant") had no doubt been kept in the temple archives. What, pray, could be said of it, even by a *religious* statesman, but that it had been "found in the house of Jehovah?" If any one calls this a "falsehood," must he not at least admit that it is defensible on the same principle by which Plato defends certain select legendary tales, viz. that such falsehood is "the closest attainable copy of the truth?"¹ Such conduct as that of Hilkiah is, I maintain, fully worthy of an inspired teacher and statesman. It is also not without a distant resemblance to the course of Divine Providence, so far as this can be scanned by our weak faculties. Indeed, if we reject the theory of "needful illusion," we are thrown upon a sea of perplexity. Was there no book on Jeremiah bringing home the need of this theory to the Christian conscience, to which Dr. Driver could have referred?

But no doubt the student will here ask, How can the kernel of the Book of Deuteronomy be justly described as the "*tōrah* of Moses"? Dr. Driver devotes what space he can afford to this most important question (see pp. 83-85). He begins by drawing the distinction (on which great stress is also laid by Delitzsch) that—

"Though it may seem paradoxical to say so, Deuteronomy *does not claim to be written by Moses*. Wherever the author speaks himself, he purposes to give a description *in the third person* of what Moses did or said. The true "author" of Deuteronomy is thus the writer who *introduces Moses in the third person*; and the discourses which he is

¹ *The Republic of Plato*, 382.

represented as having spoken fall in consequence into the same category as the speeches in the historical books, some of which largely, and others entirely, are the composition of the compilers, and are placed by them in the mouths of historical characters. . . . An author, therefore, in framing discourses appropriate to Moses' situation, especially if (as is probable) the elements were provided for him by tradition, could be doing nothing inconsistent with the literary usages of his age and people."

This hardly goes far towards meeting the difficulties of the student. In a footnote (p. 84) there is a list of passages of Deuteronomy describing in the third person what Moses did or said, which closes with Deuteronomy xxxi. 1-30. I do not forget the demands on Dr. Driver's space, but in this closing passage there occur two statements, "And Moses wrote this *tōrah*" (ver. 9), and "When Moses had made an end of writing the words of this *tōrah* in a book, until they were finished" (ver. 24), which demanded special consideration. Let us listen to the candid and devout Delitzsch. "If the statement, 'And Moses wrote,' were meant to be valid for the whole of Deuteronomy as it stands, Deuteronomy would be a pseudepigraphon" (*Genesis*, p. 23). In the sequel Delitzsch communicates his own explanation of the difficulty. Now should not Dr. Driver have given two or three lines to a mention of the difficulty, and a particularly full reference to the sentences in Delitzsch's *Genesis*, which contain that scholar's solution, if he was not prepared to give one of his own? What Dr. Driver tells us in the text is, that ancient historians (including those of Israel) habitually claimed the liberty of composing speeches for the personages of their narratives. But where, it may be replied, is there any instance of this liberty being used on such a large scale as in the discourses of Deuteronomy? If indeed Ecclesiastes had been introduced by the words, "And Solomon said," and inserted in the Book of Kings, an Old Testament parallel would not be wanting. But Ecclesiastes bears no such heading, and was presumably

designed by the unknown writer for the narrow circle of his friends or disciples. The license appealed to by Dr. Driver will hardly bear the weight which he puts upon it. Josiah certainly did not conceive that it was used in the composition of the Book, which he received with alarm as the neglected law-book written of old by Moses. As for the statement that the elements of the discourses in Deuteronomy were provided for the writer by tradition, if it means that the writer reproduces the substance of what Moses really said, somewhat as the writer of the Fourth Gospel is held to reproduce sayings or ideas of the Lord Jesus, I should think this, historically, a very difficult position. This does indeed appear to have been the belief of Delitzsch, but the principles which underlie it are not those which Dr. Driver would, as I think, deliberately desire to promote.

Dr. Driver's second argument in justification of the writer of Deuteronomy relates to the legislative portion of the Book. He says :—

"It is an altogether false view of the laws in Deuteronomy to treat them as the author's 'inventions.' Many are repeated from the Book of the Covenant; the existence of others is independently attested by the 'Law of Holiness': others, upon intrinsic grounds, are clearly ancient. . . . The new element in Deuteronomy is thus not the laws, but their *parenthetic setting*. Deuteronomy may be described as the prophetic re-formulation and adaptation to *new needs of an older legislation*."

Dr. Driver does almost too much honour to a view which is only worthy of some ill-instructed secularist lecturer. The statement that "the laws in Deuteronomy" are "the author's inventions," is, of course, utterly erroneous. But Dr. Driver's statement of his own opinion may possibly bear amendment. He at any rate appears to identify himself with the view of Kleinert that Deuteronomy consists of "old statutes worked over and adapted to later circum-

stances,"¹ and as an instance of a law which has an ancient kernel, he proceeds to adduce the so-called "law of the kingdom" (Deut. xvii. 14-20). But the former view seems to have been refuted by Kuenen, and on the latter I may appeal to Dillmann's judgment that "the law is *new and purely Deuteronomic*." It seems to me even possible that Kleinert and Stade may be right in regarding this law as a later Deuteronomistic insertion. Dr. Driver refers next to the "law of the central sanctuary" (Deut. xii. 5, etc.). He states distinctly that it "appears, in its exclusiveness, to be of comparatively² modern origin," but seems to weaken the force of this remark by saying that "it only accentuated the old pre-eminence [of the sanctuary where the ark for the time was placed] in the interests of a principle which is often insisted on in JE, viz. the separation of Israel from heathen influences." Surely the important thing to know is that the law itself is not old but new, and that even Isaiah does not appear to have conceived the idea of a single sanctuary. "The one and essential point," says Dr. G. Vos, "which we wish the higher criticism to establish, is this, that the (Deuteronomic) Code does not fit into the historical situation, by which, according to its own testimony, it was called forth."³ Dr. Driver should, I think, have had some regard to this, even though he was not directly speaking of the date of the law-book. And in order more fully to represent the strictly critical point of view, he should (if he will excuse me for seeming to dictate to him) have mentioned other laws besides that of the central sanctuary, which, even if more or less developments of ancient principles, are held by consistent critics to be of modern origin.⁴

¹ *Das Deuteronomium und der Deuteronomiker*, p. 132.

² I understand the qualification. But in view of the want of any confirming evidence from Isaiah, one may, with Stade, doubt whether Hezekiah did indeed formally and absolutely abolish all the local sanctuaries throughout his kingdom, as 2 Kings xviii. 4 appears to state.

³ *The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes* (1886), p. 90.

⁴ Cf. Dillmann, *Num.-Deut.-Jos.*, p. 604.

Upon the whole I desiderate a larger theory to account for, and therefore to justify, the statements in Deuteronomy, "And Moses said," "And Moses wrote." May we perhaps put the whole matter thus? The Book is at once legal, prophetic and historical. Under each of these aspects a fully instructed Israelite might naturally call it "Mosaic." In so far as it was legal, it could be said that the author belonged to the "Mosaic," or, as we may describe it (in opposition to certain "lying pens," Jer. viii. 8), the "orthodox" school of legalists. Its priestly author claimed, virtually at any rate, the name of Moses (just as the school of the prophet-reformer Zarathustra, not only virtually, but actually, called itself by its founder's name), because he "sat in Moses' seat," and continued the development of the antique decisions of the lawgiver. That Deuteronomy xii.-xxvi. was intended as a new edition of the old "Book of the Covenant," admits of no reasonable doubt. It was possibly in the mind of the author, a "legal fiction," like similar developments in English, and more especially in Roman law,¹ though this may not have been understood by Josiah. In so far as the Book was prophetic, it was a "Mosaic" work, because its author summed up the religious ideas of that prophetic succession of which Moses, as the writer fully believed, was the head.² And in so far as it was historical, it was "Mosaic," because the facts which it recorded were based on traditional records which the author believed to have come from Moses or his circle. Yes; even the statement that Moses delivered laws to the people in the fortieth year of the wanderings, has very probably a

¹ Cf. W. R. Smith, *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, p. 385.

² See Deut. xviii. 18, "A prophet will I [from time to time] raise up unto them . . . like unto me." Note the emphasis laid upon the truthfulness of the prophet; how could the writer of such a passage be—a "forger"? Even M. Darmesteter holds that the ideas of the Book are derived from the great prophets (review of M. Renan's *Histoire d'Israel* in *Revue des deux Mondes*, 1 avril, 1891).

traditional basis. In JE, as it stands, both the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xx. 22-xxii.) and the Words of the Covenant (Exod. xxxiv. 10-28) form part of the Sinaitic revelation. But Kuenen has made it in a high degree plausible that in the original JE they were revealed indeed at Sinai, but not promulgated by Moses till just before the passage of the Jordan. It was, as he has sought in a masterly way to show, the Deuteronomic writer of JE who transposed the scene of the promulgation from Moab to Sinai, thus making room in the narrative of the fortieth year for the new edition (as Kuenen well calls it) of the Book of the Covenant (*i.e.* Deut. xiii.-xxvi. with the "parenetic setting").¹

Dr. Driver's treatment of the other problems of Deuteronomy shows learning, but no special critical insight. In dealing with the date of Deuteronomy xxxii., no arguments are adduced from the religious contents of the Song. Indeed, it is here once more shown how unsatisfactory it is to treat the lyric products of the old Hebrew poetry *separately*. But let us pass on to the Priestly Code. Here the evidence of date is abundant, though complicated, and Dr. Driver's treatment of it shows him at his very best. I should say that this portion (pp. 118-150) is the gem of the whole book. Here too at any rate there is no deficiency of courage. The author is strong in the confidence that all that orthodoxy really requires is, that the chief ceremonial institutions referred to in P should be "*in their origin of great antiquity,*" and that the legislation should be based on legal traditions which, though modified and adapted to new circumstances from time to time, were yet in unbroken connexion with Israel's prime. This he believes that a patient criticism can show. He is therefore free to admit

¹ See Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, pp. 258-262, and (especially on Exod. xxiv. 4) cf. Cornill, *Einleitung*, p. 75; Montefiore, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, January, 1891, p. 280, etc.

(frankly and without reserve) that P in its completed form is later than Ezekiel, who was the first to introduce the radical distinction between priests and Levites which we find in P (see Ezek. xliv. 6-16). The arguments for a later date are so fully and clearly presented, that I can hardly conceive any fresh mind resisting their force. I can only here refer to the linguistic argument. Dr. Driver has, I observe, made progress since 1882, when he subjected the not sufficiently exact philological argument of Giesebrecht (in Stade's *Zeitschrift* for 1881) to a somewhat severe criticism.¹ It is obvious that the writer was still feeling his way in a complicated critical problem, and did not as yet see distinctly the *real value* of the linguistic argument. His criticism of Giesebrecht's details is indeed upon the whole sound, but, for all that, Giesebrecht was right in his general principles. It was Ryssel (in a somewhat earlier treatise, praised by Dr. Driver in 1882) and not Giesebrecht who overrated the value of the linguistic argument, and Giesebrecht has in the article referred to already, put forward what Dr. Driver, in 1891, expresses thus :—

"The phraseology of P, it is natural to suppose, is one which had gradually formed; hence it contains elements which are no doubt ancient side by side with those which were introduced later. The priests of each successive generation would adopt, as a matter of course, the technical formulæ and stereotyped expressions which they learned from their seniors, new terms, when they were introduced, being accommodated to the old moulds" (p. 148).

It is possible indeed, that Dr. Driver, writing in 1891, would assert the presence of a larger traditional element in the phraseology of P than Giesebrecht did, writing in 1881. But whatever difference there may now exist between the two scholars must be very small, and not of much importance, except to those who attach an inordinate value to proving the archaic origin of Jewish ritual laws. To Dr.

¹ See reference, p. 81; and comp. Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, p. 291. Cornill (*Einführung*, p. 66) is slightly too eulogistic towards Giesebrecht.

Driver's excellently formulated statement I only desire to add the remark of Kuenen :—

"Linguistic arguments do not furnish a positive or conclusive argument. But they do furnish a *very strong presumption* against the theory that the priestly laws were written in the golden age of Israelitish literature. As long as P² [Dr. Driver's P] is regarded as a contemporary of Isaiah, the ever-increasing number of parallels [to later writers] must remain an enigma. A constantly recurring phenomenon . . . must rest on some general basis."

On linguistic arguments I may find space to speak later on. It is, at any rate, not unimportant to know that an "induction from the facts of the Hebrew language" cannot prevent us from accepting a post-Deuteronomic (*i.e.* post-Josian) date for P, indeed that it furnishes good presumptive evidence in its favour.

I do not, however, forget, nor does Dr. Driver, that the Priestly Code contains many very early elements. Leviticus xi. for instance, which is virtually identical with Deuteronomy xiv. 4-20, is, no doubt, as Kuenen says, "a later and amplified edition of those priestly decisions on clean and unclean animals, which the Deuteronomist adopted."¹ And above all, Leviticus xvii-xxvi., when carefully studied, is seen to contain an earlier stratum of legislation (known as H, or P¹), which "exhibits a characteristic phraseology, and is marked by the preponderance of certain characteristic principles and motives" (p. 54). That the greater part of this collection of laws dates from a time considerably prior to Ezekiel, may now be taken as granted. But what is the date of the writer who arranged these laws in the existing "parenthetic framework"; or, in other words, the date of the *compilation* of H? Dr. Driver replies that he wrote shortly before the close of the monarchy; but this relatively conservative conclusion hardly does justice to the natural impression of the reader that the predicted devastation of the land of Israel is really

¹ *The Hexateuch*, p. 264.

an accomplished fact. It appears safer to hold that H as it stands was arranged by a priestly writer in the second half of the Babylonian exile. On the question, When was H absorbed into P? and, indeed, on the larger question of the later stages of our present Hexateuch, Dr. Driver still holds his opinion in reserve. No reference is made to the important narrative in Nehemiah viii., which seems the counterpart of that in 2 Kings xxii.

And now as to the character of the Priestly Narrative. The view of things which this narrative gives seems, according to our author,

“To be the result of a systematizing process working upon these materials, and perhaps also seeking to give sensible expression to certain ideas or truths (as, to the truth of Jehovah’s *presence in the midst of His people*, symbolized by the “Tent of Meeting,” surrounded by its immediate attendants, in the centre of the camp),” p. 120.

And in a footnote he says that,—

“It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the representation of P contains elements, not, in the ordinary sense of the word, historical” [e.g. especially in his chronological scheme, and in the numbers of the Israelites.—See Numbers i.-iv.].

Similarly, in speaking of P’s work in the Book of Joshua, he says that,—

“The partition of the land being conceived as *ideally* effected by Joshua, its complete distribution and occupation by the tribes are treated as his work, and as accomplished in his life-time” (pp. 108, 109).

Let me honestly say that these views, though correct, present great difficulties to those whose reverence is of the old type; and that in order to understand, and, if it may be, to justify the author or compiler of P, careful historical training is necessary. Dr. Driver’s book does not give any of the hints which the religious study of criticism appears at this point to require. But, no doubt, he was hampered equally by his want of space and by his plan.

As to the ascription of the laws to Moses, on the other hand, the author is really helpful. He points out the double aspect of the Priestly Code, which, though Exilic and early post-Exilic in its formulation, is "based upon pre-existing temple-usage" (p. 135). In taking this view he is at one with critics of very different schools, so that we may hope soon to hear no more of the charge that, according to the critics, the translation of P was "manufactured" by the later priests. Dr. Driver would rather have abstained altogether from touching on Biblical archæology, his object (an impossible one) being to confine himself to the purely literary aspect of the Old Testament. But, as Merx long ago said, a purely literary criticism of the Hexateuch is insufficient. To show that there is a basis of early customary law in later legal collections, we are compelled to consider historical analogies. In spite of Kuenen's adverse criticism of Mr. Fenton's explanation of the law of "jubilee" (Lev. xxv. 8-55), I still feel that their may be a kernel of truth in it; and much more certainly the sacrificial laws have a basis of pre-exilic priestly ordinance. But can those institutions and rites be traced back to Moses? Dr. Driver feels it necessary to satisfy his readers to some extent on this point. What he says is, in fact, much the same as Kuenen said in the *Godsdienst van Israel* in 1870.¹ It is however from an orthodox point of view, startling; and considering that Kuenen became afterwards more extreme in his views,² Dr. Driver may fairly lay claim, not merely to courage and consistency, but also to moderation and sobriety. Certainly I fully approve what Dr. Driver has said. It is "sober," i.e. it does not go beyond the facts, nor is its sobriety impaired by the circumstance that the few facts at his disposal have had to be interpreted imaginatively. How else, as I have

¹ Kuenen, *Godsdienst van Israel*, i. 278-286; ii. 209 (E.T. i. 282-290, ii. 302).

² Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, i. 238 (*Hexateuch*, p. 244).

said already, can the bearing of these few precious but dry facts be realized? I am only afraid that some readers will think that Moses was more systematic, more of a modern founder and organizer than he can really have been; but I suspect that a fuller explanation would show that there is no real difference between Dr. Driver and myself. I am in full accord with him when he says (in tacit opposition to Kuenen's later view) that "the teaching of Moses on these subjects (civil and ceremonial precepts) is preserved in its least modified form in the Decalogue and the Book of the Covenant." It becomes any one to differ from Kuenen with humility, but my own historical sense emphatically requires that from the very beginning there should have been the germ of the advanced "ethical monotheism" of the prophets; and if only it be admitted that even the shortened form of the Decalogue proposed by Ewald¹ has probably been modified (we have no right to equalize Moses with Zoroaster),² we may not unreasonably suppose that the "Ten Words" are indeed derived from "Moses, the man of God," and that the other similar "decads"³ were imitated from this one. That Dr. Driver has made no reference in this important passage to Exodus xv. (in spite of his conservative view on the authorship of the Song), deserves recognition.

There is only one other point which I could have wished to see stated. I will express it in the words of Kuenen:—

"It is Moses' great work and enduring merit—not that he introduced into Israel any particular religious forms and practices, but—that he established the service of Jahveh among his people upon a moral footing."⁴

¹ Ewald, *Geschichte*, ii. 231 (E.T. ii. 163). Comp. Driver, *Introduction*, p. 31, with the accompanying discussion of the two traditional texts of the Decalogue. A conjectural but historically conceivable revision of Ewald's form of the Decalogue has been given by Mr. Wicksteed, *The Christian Reformer*, May, 1886, pp. 307–313.

² See my article in *Nineteenth Century*, Dec., 1891.

³ See Ewald, *Geschichte*, l.c.; and cf. Wildeboer, *Theolog. Studien*, 1887, p. 21.

⁴ Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, i. 292 (*Godedienst*, i. 289).

This surely ought to satisfy the needs of *essential orthodoxy*. For what conservatives want, or ought to want, is not so much to prove the veracity of the Israelitish priests, when they ascribed certain ordinances to Moses, as to show that Moses had high intuitions of God and of morality. In a word, they want, or they ought to want, to contradict the view that the religion of Israel—at any rate, between Moses and Amos—in no essential respect differed from that of “Moab, Ammon, and Edom, Israel’s nearest kinsfolk and neighbours.”¹ Their mistake has hitherto been in attributing to Moses certain *absolutely* correct religious and moral views. In doing so, they interfered with the originality both of the prophets of Israel and of Jesus Christ, and they have to avoid this in future by recognising that Moses’ high intuitions were limited by his early place in the history of Israel’s revelation.

I am most thankful that in this very important matter (which, even in an introduction to the Old Testament literature, could not be passed over) Dr. Driver has not felt himself obliged to make any deduction from critical results. The second chapter is one which makes somewhat less demand than the first on the patient candour of orthodox readers. It may also appear less interesting until we have learned that the narrative books are of the utmost importance for Hexateuch students, as supplying the historical framework for the Hexateuch records. In fact, all the Old Testament Scriptures are interlaced by numberless delicate threads, so that no part can be neglected without injury to the rest. Undoubtedly, the criticism of Judg.-Sam.-Kings has not reached such minute accuracy as that of the Hexateuch, and it was a disadvantage to Dr. Driver that he had to write upon these books before the researches of Budde and Cornill (to whom we may now add Kautzsch and Kittel) had attained more complete analytical results.

¹ Wellhausen, *Sketch of the History of Israel and Judah* (1891), p. 23.

Still one feels that, with the earlier pioneering works to aid him (including Budde's and Cornill's earlier essays), Dr. Driver could have been much fuller, with more space and perhaps with more courage. At any rate, the most essential critical points have been duly indicated, and I welcome Dr. Driver's second chapter, in combination with his work on the Text of Samuel, as materially advancing the study of these books in England.¹ A valuable hint was already given in chapter i. (pp. 3, 4). With regard to Judges and Kings we are there told that "in each a series of older narratives has been taken by the compiler, and fitted with a framework supplied by himself"; whereas in Samuel, though this too is a compilation, "the compiler's hand is very much less conspicuous than is the case in Judges and Kings" (pp. 3, 4). Of the work of the compiler in Kings, we are further told in chapter ii. that it included not only brief statistical notices, sometimes called the "Epitome," but also the introduction of fresh and "prophetic glances at the future" and the "amplification" of already existing prophecies (see pp. 178, 184, 189). He judges historical events by the standard of Deuteronomy, and his Deuteronomizing peculiarities receive a careful description, which is illustrated by a valuable list of his characteristic phrases (with reference to Deuteronomy and Jeremiah). We are introduced, in fact, to what Kleinert calls the *Deuteronomistische Schriftstellerei*, and realize how great must have been the effect of that great monument both of religion and of literature—the kernel of our Deuteronomy.

On the historical value of Judges, the author speaks cautiously, following Dr. A. B. Davidson, who has remarked (*EXPOSITOR*, Jan., 1887) on the different points of view in the narratives and in the framework, and who finds in the latter, not, strictly speaking, history, but rather the

¹ A forthcoming work of my own on the Study of Criticism will, I hope, slightly supplement and strengthen this part of Dr. Driver's book.

"philosophy of history." To this eminent teacher the author also appeals as having already pointed out the combination of different accounts of the same facts—a striking phenomenon which meets us in a still greater degree in the first part of Samuel. It was surely hardly necessary to do so. Support might have been more valuable for the ascription of the Song of Hannah to a later period, though here Dr. Driver is relatively conservative. The other poetical passages in Samuel have no special treatment. Still a generally correct impression is given of the composition of our Samuel, and the praise given to "the most considerable part which appears plainly to be the work of a single author" (2 Sam. ix.-xx., to which 1 Kings i.-ii. in the main belongs) is not at all too high.

It strikes me, however, that in this chapter Dr. Driver does not show as much courage as in the preceding one. Not to dwell on the cautious reserve with which he alludes to questions of historicity, I must regret that the duplicate narratives in Samuel are so treated, that some of the chief critical points are missed, and that the true character of the record does not fully appear.

And how strange it is to read of 1 Samuel xxiv. and xxvi., that

"Whether the two narratives really relate to two different occasions, or whether they are merely different versions of the same occurrence, is a question on which opinion will probably continue to be divided"¹ (p. 171)!

Nor is anything said either of 1 Samuel xvi. 1-13 (the anointing of David),² nor of the prophecy of Nathan (2 Sam. vii.), except that the latter is included among the "relatively latest passages" (p. 173), where I am afraid that the reader may overlook it. The former passage was no doubt difficult to treat without a somewhat fuller adoption

¹ See Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel*, p. 227.

² It is less important that nothing is said on the "doublets," 1 Sam. xxxi., 2 Sam. i. 1-16.

of the principles which govern, and must govern, the critical analysis of the Hebrew texts. Nor can I help wondering whether there is the note of true "moderation" in the remark on 1 Kings xiii. 1-32, that it is "a narrative not probably of very early origin, as it seems to date from a time when the names both of the prophet of Judah, and of the 'old prophet' were no longer remembered" (p. 183). I turn to Klostermann, whom Professor Lias at the last Church Congress extolled as the representation of common sense in literary criticism, and whose doctrinal orthodoxy is at any rate above suspicion, and find these remarks:—

"The following narrative in its present form comes in the main from a book of anecdotes from the prophetic life of an earlier period with a didactic tendency, designed for disciples of the prophets. . . . It is probable that the reminiscence of Amos iii. 14; vii. 16, 17; ix. 1, etc., influenced this narrative, as well as *the recollection of Josiah's profanation of the sanctuary at Bethel*" (2 Kings xxiii.).

So then this narrative is later than the other Elijah narratives; is, in fact, post-Deuteronomic. To the original writer of 2 Kings xxii., xxiii., it was unknown. Obviously it occasioned the later insertion of 2 Kings xxiii. 16-18 (notice the apologetic interest in Lucian's fuller text of the Septuagint of v. 18). Why not say so plainly?

And why meet the irreverence of the remarks of Ewald and of Wellhausen on 2 Kings i.¹ (an irreverence which is only on the surface, and is excused by manifest loyalty to historical truth) by the something less than accurate statement that this chapter "presents an impressive picture of Elijah's inviolable greatness" (p. 185)?

I know that Dr. Driver will reply that he desired to

¹ See Ewald, *History*, iv. 112; Wellhausen, *Die Composition des Hexateuchs*, etc., pp. 284-5. The fundamental reverence of all Ewald's Biblical work is, I presume, too patent to be denied. He would not have spoken as he did on 2 Kings i. without good cause.

leave historical criticism on one side. By so doing he would, no doubt, satisfy the author of the *Impregnable Rock of Holy Scripture*, who, if I remember right, tolerates literary, but not real historical, criticism. But Dr. Driver has already found in chapter i. that the separation cannot be maintained. Why attempt what is neither possible, nor (if I may say so) desirable, in chapter ii. ? Here let me pause for awhile ; the first section of my critical survey is at an end. But I cannot pass on without the willing attestation that the scholarly character of these two chapters is high, and that even the author's compromises reveal a thoughtful and conscientious mind. May his work and mine alike tend to the hallowing of criticism, to the strengthening of spiritual faith, and to the awakening in wider circles of a more intelligent love for the records of the Christian revelation.

T. K. CHEYNE.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

II. THE JOHANNEAN WRITINGS.

IN a former paper I endeavoured to reproduce the teaching of Christ, as recorded in the Synoptist Gospels, about His own death and its relation to the salvation of men. I shall now give an account of His teaching on the same topic as recorded in the Fourth Gospel; and with this I shall expound a few words attributed in the same Gospel to John the Baptist, and a few explanatory words from the pen of the Evangelist. This will be followed by an exposition of the teaching of the First Epistle of John, and of that of the Book of Revelation.

Of these documents, the first two were accepted with complete confidence, as undoubtedly written by the beloved Apostle John, by all the early Christian writers, the earliest mention of the author's name being in the latter part of the second century. This unanimous tradition is supported by what seems to me to be strong internal evidence. The authorship of the Book of Revelation was not accepted with the same unquestioning confidence. It is however not only quoted in the latter part of the second century by Irenæus (bk. v. 28, 30) as written by John, but in the middle of that century Justin (*Dialogue with Trypho* ch. lxxxi.) quotes it in the following words: "a teacher of ours whose name was John, one of the twelve Apostles of Christ, foretold in a Revelation which was made to him, that they who believe in our Christ should pass a thousand years in Jerusalem; and after that there should be a universal, and in a word an eternal, resurrection of all men together, and then the judgment." Without further discussion of their authorship, these documents claim our reverence as very early

witnesses of the teaching of Christ and of the belief of those who heard Him.

In one of the beautiful pictures contained in the first chapter of the Fourth Gospel, the Baptist, seeing Jesus coming towards him, says, as recorded in John i. 29, "Behold the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world." The connection of the words *Lamb* and *sin* suggests at once the sacrificial lambs offered in the temple every morning and evening, as prescribed in Exodus xxix. 38-41, Numbers xxviii. 3. Possibly the near approach of the Passover, noted in John ii. 13, may have suggested also the Paschal lamb which (see Exodus xii. 5) in Egypt by its own death saved the firstborn from death. The definite term "Lamb of God" implies that He whom John saw approaching stood, even in contrast to the sacrificial lambs prescribed in the Mosaic Law, in a peculiar and intimate relation to God.

The forerunner completes his description of his Lord by adding, "who taketh away the sin of the world." The word *αἵρω* suggests effort, as when with a strong hand men lift up and carry a load; and removal, as when men carry away the load they have lifted up. In one or both of these senses it is very common in each of the four Gospels. This common use of the word and these associations of thought suggest that in this passage "the sin of the world" is represented as a burden pressing with full weight on the Lamb of God and by Him removed.

These words, following as they do a quotation from Isaiah in ver. 23, recall also Isaiah liii. 4-7: "Surely He hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows; yet we did esteem Him stricken, smitten of God and afflicted. But He was wounded for our transgressions, He was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon Him; and with His stripes we are healed. All we like sheep have gone astray; we have turned every one

to his own way; and Jehovah hath made to light on Him the iniquity of us all. He was oppressed, yet He humbled Himself and opened not His mouth; as a lamb is led to the slaughter, and as a sheep that before her shearers is dumb; yea, He opened not His mouth."

If the words of the great preacher do not assert expressly that Christ saves men from death by Himself dying, yet taken in their environment they suggest very strongly that this doctrine, afterwards plainly set forth by Christ, was already more or less clearly present to the thought of His mysterious forerunner.

In an important and conspicuous exposition of His mission, recorded in John iii. 14-17, Christ says to Nicodemus, "as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness so must needs the Son of Man be lifted up, in order that every one who believeth in Him may have eternal life." Our Lord here asserts that something similar to that which was done to the brazen serpent in the wilderness when it was set on a banner-pole before the eyes of Israel must needs happen to Him in order that men ready to die may live for ever. The word *δεῖ* which asserts conspicuously the necessity of this elevation of Christ in order to save men, recalls at once the same word used by Christ in Matthew xvi. 21, "He must needs go to Jerusalem . . . and be put to death." The word rendered *lifted-up*, *ὑψωθῆναι*, occurs again in the same connection in John xii. 32; and is explained by the Evangelist: "this said He, signifying by what kind of death He was about to die." And this is the only satisfactory explanation of the earlier words to Nicodemus. The serpent of brass set on a pole before the eyes of Israel as a means of their salvation from death suggests irresistibly, when once a comparison with Christ is made, His body hanging upon the cross before the eyes of Jerusalem for the salvation of the world. And this reference is somewhat confirmed in ver. 16 by the

"love" which prompted God to give His only begotten Son in order that men might be saved. For, of that love, the gift of Christ to die was the crowning manifestation.

We must now go forward at least a year in the Sacred Life. Again, as recorded in John vi. 4, the Jewish Pass-over is at hand. Yesterday the great Teacher, whom crowds now follow, fed five thousand men with five loaves and two fishes. But to-day in doubt and unbelief some who so lately enjoyed His superhuman bounty ask Him to work a sign something like that in the wilderness when God gave to Israel bread from heaven. The Master replies that bread more wonderful than that given of old, the real bread from heaven, is now being given; and claims in ver. 35 to be Himself "the Bread of Life." The mode by which this food is to be appropriated is then specified: "he that cometh to me shall not hunger, and he that believeth in Me shall never thirst." "The Jews began to murmur about Him, because He said, I am the Bread which came down from heaven": ver. 41. But in ver. 48 and again in ver. 51 Christ repeats His claim to be "the Bread of Life"; and adds that this bread differs from that eaten by the ancestors of Israel in the wilderness in that they died, whereas those who eat of the Bread now given will live for ever.

We notice in passing that bread nourishes only by its own destruction. And only by the destruction of that which has had life can life be maintained. Even in the bread we eat real vegetable life has been sacrificed for our life.

In ver. 51 Christ expounds the metaphor of bread by another metaphor: "and the bread which I will give is My flesh on behalf of the world's life." The new thought thus introduced at once increases the difficulty of the Jews. They ask, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat?" This difficulty, our Lord refuses to lessen, and

merely repeats in more emphatic language His previous assertion: "verily, verily, I say to you, unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have not life in yourselves." He adds in ver. 56, "He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood abideth in Me and I in him."

These words, which sound so strangely in western ears, point forward in the most conspicuous manner possible to the approaching death of Christ. For, wherever flesh is eaten, blood has been shed and life violently taken. Consequently, by this startling phraseology Christ asserts unmistakably and conspicuously that His own death, which actually took place at the passover following, is a necessary condition of the spiritual nourishment which He has just promised to all who come to and believe in Him. It is a reassertion of His own words in chap. iii. 14: "the Son of Man must needs be lifted up." The emphatic repetition of the words *flesh* and *blood* reveal the importance, in the thought of Christ, of this mysterious condition of the salvation of the world.

In John x. 15 the good Shepherd says, "I lay down My life on behalf of the sheep." He thus announces His deliberate purpose to die for the good of men. That His approaching death will be voluntary and with a definite purpose, He asserts again in verses 17, 18: "I lay down My life, in order that I may take it again. No one taketh it from Me, but I lay it down of Myself." The further purpose expressed in the words "that I may take it again" is in close harmony with Christ's reference in Matthew xvi. 21, xvii. 23 to His death as to be followed by resurrection. He thus asserts in plainest language that to die for man was part of the purpose He came to accomplish.

In John xi. 47, 48 the Jewish Sanhedrin is consulting about what is to be done to arrest the increasing influence of Jesus. They fear that if things go on as they are now

going He will win the faith of all men, and thus, by exciting the apprehensions of the Romans, bring ruin on the nation. The wily Sadducee who was then high priest saw in this fear an opportunity; and suggested that as Jesus was bringing ruin on the nation it would be better for Him who was only one to be put to death rather than to permit Him to destroy all. In these words, animated by hatred and craft, the Evangelist saw an unconscious and very remarkable prophecy of the actual and designed result of the approaching death of Christ. He declared that Christ was about to die on behalf of the nation and in order that the scattered children of God might be gathered into one community. This explanation is another assertion that Christ's death was by His own deliberate purpose and for the salvation of men.

In chap. xii. 22 we read that Andrew and Philip come to Jesus and tell Him that certain Greeks, strangers from the western world, desire to see Him. This inquiry, a foretaste of the conversion of Europe with its momentous influence upon the development of the Kingdom of God, greatly moved the Saviour. In these seekers from afar He saw a firstfruit of a great harvest. But He knew that this great result could be obtained only by His own death, that before the harvest can be gathered the seed must fall into the ground and die. The meaning of this striking metaphor is, to us who know what happened to Jesus during this feast at which these Greeks visited Jerusalem, evident. Before the Gentiles can be gathered into the Kingdom of God, Himself must be laid dead in the grave. The words before us are thus a reassertion of the absolute necessity of the death of Christ for the salvation of men.

We have already noticed a reference by Christ in chap. xii. 32 to Himself, which is explained by the Evangelist to be a prophecy of His death: "and I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all to Myself." We have here another

announcement that the success of our Lord's work was conditioned by His death.

In close agreement with chap. x. 11, we read in chap. xv. 13, "greater love than this hath no man, that a man lay down his life for his friends."

In chap. xvi. 7 Christ says that unless He goes away the Paraclete, or Helper, will not come. That the departure of the great Teacher would bring greater blessing than His presence, and that His removal from the midst of His disciples was a necessary condition of the gift of the Spirit of God to be the animating principle of their life, is another assertion that His death is an essential link in the chain of man's salvation.

In the Fourth Gospel, as in the Synoptist Gospels, a long and full account is given of the death of Christ, revealing its large place in the writer's thought.

The death of Christ and its relation to the salvation of men are perhaps somewhat more conspicuous in the Fourth Gospel than in the other three Gospels. That He was about to die for the salvation of men, is suggested, before His public ministry began, in a few words spoken by the Baptist; and shortly afterwards by Himself in His conversation with Nicodemus. It is plainly indicated in very conspicuous and startling words, spoken a year before His death. And this indication is confirmed by several later remarks. In each of the four Gospels we are taught, in language which leaves no room for doubt, that the violent death of Christ was essential for the salvation of men, and was a part of His purpose of salvation.

From the recorded words of Christ, spoken during His earthly life, we now turn to documents written by His followers after His death in the light shed upon that event by the birth and progress of the Christian Church. In these documents we shall find teaching much more definite than that which I have just expounded.

In 1 John i. 7 are words as startling as those recorded in John vi. 51, "the blood of Jesus, His Son, cleanseth us from all sin." Manifestly "the blood of Jesus" refers to His violent death on the cross. The writer affirms that this event in the past is a present means of Christian purity. He can only mean that, had not Christ died, there had been for us, none of whom can say that he has no sin, no cleansing from sin; in other words, that the death of Christ is a necessary condition, and in some sense the instrument of this cleansing. This strong language reveals the deep impression made upon the mind of the disciple by the death of his Master.

In ver. 9 we read, "He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins." These words contain no express reference to the death of Christ; but they imply that the justice of God is involved in the pardon of sin, in close agreement with the teaching of St. Paul in Romans iii. 26, "Himself just and a justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus." The great importance of this last passage we shall see at a later stage of our inquiry.

In 1 John ii. 2, after saying that "if any one sin, we have an advocate with the Father," the writer goes on to say that "Himself is a propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only but also for the whole world." Similar language occurs again in chap. iv. 10: "He loved us and sent His Son to be a propitiation for our sins."

The word rendered *propitiation*, *ἱλασμός*, is found occasionally in the LXX., e.g., Numbers v. 8, "the ram of the propitiation"; Ezekiel xlv. 27, "they shall offer propitiation"; Psalm cxxx. 4, "with Thee is the propitiation." And it at once recalls the almost equivalent word *ἐξίλασμός*, e.g., in Leviticus xxiii. 27, 28; and the cognate verb, *ἐξιλάσκειν*, which is very common in the ritual of the Pentateuch. Unfortunately, the connection of the words is obscured even in the Revised Version, which renders

them, without marginal note, *propitiation* in the New Testament and *atonement* in the Old. But the meaning is quite plain. So Leviticus iv. 20, "the priest shall make propitiation for them, and the sin shall be forgiven to them"; and again, almost word for word, in verses 26, 31, 35; v. 6, 10, 13, 18. In some of these passages we have propitiation for sin almost word for word as in 1 John ii. 2.

In each of the above places the effect of propitiation is described as forgiveness. Evidently the sacrifices here prescribed were means ordained by God by which a sinner might escape the punishment due to his sin. The same verb occurs very frequently throughout the Book of Leviticus, *e.g.* sixteen times in chap. xvi. in reference to the great Day of Atonement.

This frequent use of a cognate word is at once recalled by 1 John ii. 2, where again we have conspicuous and repeated mention of sin and, a few verses earlier, of forgiveness of sins. The passage before us evidently means that Christ is Himself, not only the sinner's Advocate with God, but a means by which the sinner finds shelter from the anger of God against sin.

We notice that in the Mosaic ritual, where the word *atonement* or *propitiation* is often used, the only ordinary means of propitiation is a bloody sacrifice. This almost constant use of the word, taken in connection with the express mention of the blood of Christ in 1 John i. 7, leaves no room for doubt that the propitiation mentioned in chap. ii. 2 is brought about by the violent death of Christ on the cross.

Similarly in chap. iv. 10, after stating in ver. 9 that "God sent His only begotten Son into the world in order that we may live through Him," the writer further expounds the mission of Christ by adding that "God sent His Son to be a propitiation for our sins." The two phrases

are equivalent. For, to guilty man there is no entrance into life unless God provide for him a means of escape from the penalty due to his sins.

In the Book of Revelation we have three statements about the death of Christ in its relation to man's sin, each as definite as any passage expounded above.

In Revelation i. 5, at the opening of the wondrous vision, we hear a greeting of peace from each Person of the blessed Trinity; and a special song of praise to the Second Person, "To Him that loved us and loosed us from our sins in His blood." This outburst of gratitude, prompted by mention of the name of Jesus, directs conspicuous attention to the violent death of Christ as the means of our salvation from sin, in complete harmony with the teaching expounded above from the Gospels and the First Epistle of John.

In chap. iv. 2 we have a vision of the Father enthroned in majesty. In ver. 8 He is saluted as the thrice Holy, as Almighty, as He that was, and is, and cometh; and in ver. 11 as the Creator of all things. In the next chapter another scene opens before us. The prophet sees in the midst of the throne, among the four living creatures and the seated elders, "a Lamb standing as slain." Amid the splendours of heaven, the Son bears marks of His cruel death on earth. The significance of this vision of past death amid present and endless life is explained in the "new song" which bursts upon our delighted ears in ver. 9: "worthy art Thou to take the book because Thou wast slain and didst purchase for God in Thy blood out of every tribe and tongue and people and nation." The words in ver. 9 *Thou wast slain* followed by *in Thy blood* throws into most conspicuous prominence the death of Christ; and we are told that by that death Christ has purchased men for God: ἡγόρασας τῷ Θεῷ. The writer here asserts, in language open to no doubt whatever, that the death of Christ upon

the cross was the means by which He has restored men to their right relation to God as His possession.

The idea of purchase, expressed in this passage, is in close harmony with Matthew xx. 28, Mark x. 45, already expounded: "the Son of Man came to give His life a ransom instead of many."

In close agreement with 1 John i. 7, but in a form agreeing with the bold imagery of the Book of Revelation, we read in chap. vii. 14, "they washed their robes and made them white in the blood of the Lamb." The former passage teaches that the purification attributed to the death of Christ comes to us from a source other than ourselves: the latter implies that the cleansing wrought for men in the death of Christ must be appropriated by each one for himself. In each passage the death of Christ is conspicuous as the means of purification.

Thus across the bright visions of the Book of Revelation falls three times the deep shadow of the cross of Christ. And each time the shadow kindles the radiance into a brighter glory.

To sum up. In a former paper we found Christ teaching, as His words are recorded in the Synoptist Gospels, that He was about voluntarily to lay down His life in order to save men, that for their salvation His death was absolutely needful, that it was to be the basis of a new Covenant between God and man, in order to gain for man forgiveness of sins. In this paper we have found a type of teaching differing widely in phraseology and modes of thought from that of the Synoptist Gospels. But in the Fourth Gospel we have found references somewhat more numerous than in the other three Gospels, to the approaching death of Christ as the designed means of the salvation He announced to men. In an epistle most closely related to the Fourth Gospel and manifestly from the same pen we found an assertion linking purification from sin with the

death of Christ, and two other passages connecting the deliverance from sin wrought by Christ with the ancient sacrifices prescribed in the Mosaic ritual as a means of forgiveness. Lastly, in the Book of Revelation we found three most conspicuous assertions that the blood and death of Christ were the means of deliverance from sin.

In our next paper I shall discuss the teaching of the Book of Acts and of the Epistles of Peter on the great subject now before us.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

II.

WE have seen that what the Christian miracles imply is not a superseding of the forces of nature, but the wielding of them in a more than human grasp. Jesus Himself regarded them as a manifestation of God, that God who is now resting from creation, and into whose sabbath we that believe do enter. They cannot be a violation of this very sabbath by new exertions of creative power, for Christ did only what he saw His Father do, and was faithful as a Son in His Father's house. Now it is certain that the objections of science entirely fail to reach, not to speak of refuting, this conception of the miracles.

Invited to retain our faith in Jesus, but to reject the miraculous from our creed as an accretion, we have rejoined that this proposal ignores the existence of the supernatural in the very conception of Jesus. Thence it cannot, upon any theory whatever, be eliminated without denying all the laws of that human nature above which this conception towers, sublime, and even now without a parallel, although the model is before us, and although He is for ever repro-

ducing Himself in the bosom of the Church. When all is said, the miracles are not a stumbling-block except because they transcend the ordinary experience of mankind so amazingly, and, for men who deny God, so inexplicably. But why are not the story of Christ and His teaching and its influence (wherever they come from, call them history or legend as you please) felt to transcend experience in a manner quite as amazing, and without God, as inexplicable? Why is it not confessed that the problem exists, and what is now demanded is a *vindex nodo dignus*? Only because men are far more deeply impressed by what is physical than what is spiritual, by a disease than a sin, by recovered health than by purity restored.

But there is more to say. If we consent to reject the supernatural, on what ground, with what object, should we still retain our faith in Jesus? "Because," it will assuredly be answered, "we confess what you have just now urged: the teaching of Jesus vouches itself. Its purity is not more phenomenal than its power. If anywhere in the writing of a sage or an ascetic we discover an incomplete parallel for some of his maxims, still we search in vain for a similar grasp on the convictions and affections of mankind. Jesus proves His religion by making it work; by its fruit we know it: its true evidence is experimental, like that of bread. Get rid then of what offends our scientific prepossessions, and you will attain universal acceptance; you will commend the divine morality to our conscience, and the divine sorrow to our sympathy." This hope gives all its plausibility to the proposal to revise Christianity. But this hope is a dream. Eliminate the miraculous, and with it vanishes every weapon that arms our religion with practical power over mankind. The authority of scripture vanishes with inspiration. The sacraments vanish, because they assert the resurrection life, shared with us, who are "risen with Him" as from the baptismal wave, and are nourished by His

flesh, which is "life indeed." The day of rest vanishes, because it is a celebration of His resurrection. All the appeals by which sinners are converted vanish, for He does not stand at the door and knock, nor see of the travail of His soul; neither can ingratitude crucify Him afresh; nor have we any High Priest to reassure our unworthiness, unless He is risen from the dead. Our hope is vain, and we are yet in our sins. Thus, when the living Christ is gone, the life fades out of the system also. We need no Goethe to instruct us that all theory is grey while the tree of life is green. Our religion becomes weak and unsubstantial as a ghost, if it has only a ghost of Jesus to rely upon.

Concede the greatest of the miracles, and it is absurd to wrangle, in the name of science, about the rest. Reject this, and there is an end of that religion which cannot, you tell us, be replaced, which has the same evidence that commends our food to us, the evidence of a universal craving and a universal satisfaction. In truth it matters not upon what evidence we rely for our new and non-miraculous Christianity—testimony or intuition or human need—that same evidence attests also the miraculous. Especially is this true of the evidence from its effect on human nature, on the public conscience, for this depends entirely on the conviction that He who suffered and loved is declared to be the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead.

This brings us to consider the nature of the evidence for the miraculous. A living student of science loves to contrast the evidence on which she accepts her facts with that, for example, upon which religion receives the narrative concerning what he so wittily calls the Gadarene pigs. He apparently supposes that he will refute everything when he can discern one miracle that cannot, if isolated from the rest, offer sufficient independent evidence; and

that it is our duty to present satisfactory and exhaustive proofs for every several miracle. But this is a reversal, both of his own position and of ours. We are no more bound to establish separately the actual occurrence and the miraculous nature of each event in the narrative, than science is bound to demonstrate separately the electrical origin of every lightning-flash, and every Aurora Borealis. Explain one storm, and we concede the explanation of the rest. Establish one miracle, and there need be no trouble about the others. Thus, for example, the miracle of the coin in the fish's mouth was probably at no time attested by other witnesses besides Peter himself. If we found it in the life of Xavier, we should only say, "Here is one more, added to the numberless and baseless legends which sprang up years after the great missionary died." To us it is commended by its place among more public miracles, by something in itself which we shall hereafter see, but especially by its connection with the best attested fact in history—the resurrection of Jesus. These things make it so easy to believe, that we do not even observe the absence of any information that it ever happened at all. We simply read that Peter was bidden to cast the hook, and we assume, as a matter of course in the circumstances, that the result followed.

Clearly then our opponent is not free to make merry over "the pigs" before he has addressed himself to the most public, the most powerfully attested, and the most spiritually fruitful of all the miracles—the resurrection of Jesus from the dead.

Thus our faith in the miracles resembles an arch of many stones. Like such an arch on its foundations, it rests upon solid testimony; but it is not required that every stone should touch the ground, or every incident repose directly upon such evidence. When once the base is firmly laid, the stability of all will be secured by their being properly

modified to meet a popular sentiment, lofty enough to mould it into the Christian Messiah.

When we are bidden to contrast the evidence on which science proceeds with the evidence for the story of the swine, or the coin in the fish's mouth, two facts are deliberately or carelessly ignored. The decisions of practical life are habitually reached and held fast on evidence far from scientific. And again, science herself demands the assent of the public on slender and hearsay evidence. What evidence have we, the public, for those experiments in the high Alps by which Mr. Tyndall refuted the belief that life is being spontaneously generated? What evidence had we, first for the fishing up of protoplasm from the deep seas, and afterwards for the decision that this all-important substance was fished up, only because it had been sunk in an ill-washed vessel? Why were we invited to believe in a discovery so momentous, and then to rescind our creed again? ¹

It is objected, however, that the miracles of Jesus gained credence, merely because, in that superstitious age, it was almost as easy to believe a miracle as any other event. "As for miracles, people at that period took them for the indispensable marks of the Divine, and for the signs of prophetic vocations. The legends of Elijah and Elisha were full of them. It was settled that the Messiah should work many." "The power of working miracles passed for a licence regularly given by God to men, and had nothing surprising in it" (Renan, *V. de J.*, pp. 266-7. Ed. 15). "They were a people who, whether we think of the Jews or the Galileans, were inclined to be superficial, were

¹ "The evidence of miracles, at least to Protestant Christians, is not, in our own day, of this cogent description. It is not the evidence of our senses, but of witnesses, and even this not at first hand, but resting on the attestation of books and traditions" (J. S. Mill: "Essays on Religion," p. 219). It is twenty to one that every word of this indictment equally applied to Mill's own conviction that the earth revolves around the sun.

notoriously credulous, superstitious, and lovers of the marvellous, and among whom belief in the miraculous was daily growing stronger" (Keim, *J. of N.* iii. 169). It was an age "when no one thought it worth while to contradict any alleged miracle, because it was the belief of the age that miracles proved nothing. . . . There was scarcely any canon of probability, and miracles were thought to be the commonest of all phenomena" (J. S. Mill, *Essays on Religion*, pp. 237, 8).

As soon as one looks carefully at these bold assertions, he discovers them to be mutually destructive. It was natural that miracles should be ascribed to Jesus as soon as He was believed to be the Messiah, says Renan, because they were "indispensable marks of the Divine, and signs of a prophetic vocation." It was natural that they should pass uncontradicted, says Mill, because every one agreed that they proved nothing at all.

Nothing is plainer than that one or other of these statements was not derived from history, but from theological bias, and the supposed necessities of the situation. And this is a lesson to be remembered when next we meet with bold and generalizing assertions of the kind. We came on just such another lesson when Strauss, in the *New Life* explained the miracles by the demand for them. "Miracles He must perform, whether He would or not. As soon as He was considered to be a prophet . . . miraculous powers were attributed to Him; and as soon as they were attributed to Him, they came of course into operation." Yes, but this explanation assumes that He had first, without a miracle, attained prophetic rank: how did this come to pass? Easily enough, answered Strauss. "We cannot doubt that *He* might attain this character, as well as the Baptist, even without miracles" (i. 365). Here is wisdom indeed. On the same page, from the same paragraph, we learn that a prophet must work miracles (because

they would spring up around him, spontaneously generated); and also we are reminded that the only other prophet of the period experienced no inconvenience of the kind.

Nor does the Old Testament at all countenance the assertion that miracles were a necessary ornament of the prophetic rank. It is true that they are attributed to Elijah and Elisha (as Renan carefully mentions), but it is quite as certain that numbers of the prophets performed none, and among them was Jeremiah, whom some confounded with Jesus.

It is not only to Strauss, or by virtue of one awkward slip, that the case of the Baptist is inconvenient. The fact that he succeeded without a miracle is well attested. It rests, not only on the assertion in St. John, but also on Herod's ingenious notion, that Christ worked them because He was the Baptist, risen from the dead, and therefore possessed of the secrets of another world. This implies that John had not wrought miracles before his death. And there is further confirmation in the intense curiosity of Herod to see Jesus, and thus to behold a marvel.

Now, if John worked no miracle, and yet his rank was so well established that the chief priests would have been stoned if they denied it, what becomes of all this theorizing about the inevitable, contagious, imperative, and universal persuasion, by means of which miracles were forced on Jesus?

But there is another very practical view of the case. If the belief in miracles, and the demand for them from a prophet, was so universal, what would have become of Jesus unless He actually performed them and upon a sufficient scale? Consider, for example, His reply to the Baptist, when the faith of His forerunner was at fault. A simple-minded reader will find Keim's criticism of this passage quite astonishing. "To the Baptist's inquiries

as to His Messiahship, Jesus answered in the words of Isaiah's prophecy. . . . Did He, contrary to Isaiah's meaning, and contrary to the unequivocal final word about the spiritual gospel to the poor, refer to the physically diseased, to the physically diseased *alone*, to those who were physically raised again, as the Gospels understand Him to have done?" (*J. of N.* iii. 161). Certainly not to these alone. Such a notion is precluded indeed by the final words, but these imply, by their separate mention of evangelization, that something different was meant in the previous clauses. And it is quite absurd to suppose that Jesus quoted these without any intention that they should be literally understood, at the time when Keim admits that works of healing were eagerly expected, and were actually being evolved by this expectation, when "the confidence of men, and their misery, hastened to the new Teacher and besought His help," when He was consequently "driven further" than He anticipated (p. 173); and when there could not but "arise for Him the necessity of being the physician for the bodily as well as the spiritually sick" (p. 175). It was amid such circumstances that He, enumerating the physical ills supposed to be removed, said, "ye see and hear" these things, and bade them be repeated to John; and yet, as we are assured, the evangelists blundered egregiously in supposing all this to be anything more than a figure of speech.

In truth, the widespread and general expectation that the Messiah should work miracles, carries two results along with it, which are somewhat embarrassing to the modern rationalist. It absolutely refutes the wild notion of Mill, that by general consent a miracle proved nothing, and deserved no attention. It also raises very seriously the price at which a pretender could make his claim good. If miracles were not expected, if their effect were not discounted by the popular anticipation, then a few modest

marvels might have sufficed to impress men and to attract them. It would then have been more easy to explain such unassuming wonders by supposing, with Renan, that "the presence of a superior person treating the 'sick man with sweetness, and giving him, by some visible signs, the assurance of his restoration, was the decisive medicine"; that "the pleasure of seeing Him did much: He gave what He was able, a sigh, a hope, and that is not ineffectual" (*V. de J.* 270, 271). We might then be satisfied with Keim's deeper and more reverential application of the same notion, "the mere stimulation of the oppressed or dormant life of the soul would bring with it an immediate release from the predominance of, from the one-sided slavery to, material infirmities and pains" (iii. 194). Or we might accept Schenkel's variation of the same theory, that "it is not irreconcilable with the nature of the human spirit that Jesus, by His spiritual power, produced on other minds effects which manifested themselves physically"; but that these were, "after all, only effects produced by the personal human spirit." And we might even suppose that if a leper were "already in an advanced state of cure" he could "receive from Jesus an access of vital power greatly accelerating his restoration" (*Sketch of the Character of J.* pp. 69, 375).

All this would at least be less intolerable to the reason, if expectation were not on fire. But the theory is, that the public imagination first created marvels and forced them upon Jesus, and then exaggerated wildly the marvels which its eagerness and impressibility rendered possible. Who does not see that such a state of feeling would indignantly refuse to be satisfied by small responses? It is true enough that before now, upon a sudden cry of Fire, persons who were honestly bed-ridden for years, have fled for their lives. Let us grant, then, that certain forms of decrepitude, if attracted to Jesus by a wide-spread per-

suasion that He could heal, might have been so nerved and braced up by the pleasure of seeing Him, and the gift of a sigh and a hope (as Renan has it), that the disease would be charmed away. But this would not long suffice. The Old Testament prophecies spoke expressly of leprosy and blindness; nor, in the actual record, is any other form of disease more common, and more frequently relieved. Are we to believe that in fact no such sufferers publicly challenged Him? Or did excitement restore the ruined organ, the corroded tissue, the chemistry of the poisoned blood? Or would the common faith have survived one failure, not to speak of persistent failure in treating all such cases? And the Pharisees, who exhausted all the resources of self-interested malice, who actually traded on His refusal to grant a sign "from heaven," and who are found on His return from the Transfiguration eagerly questioning the disciples, amid a violently agitated concourse, because *they* have failed to cleanse a demoniac—would the Pharisees not have challenged Him, again and again, to cross the narrow limits marked for His works by the remedial effect of the imagination of the sick? The ruin of Savonarola is a fine comment upon such theories.

Besides, the public expectation found Jesus by no means so plastic in its hands. It failed to make Him either a politician or a king, how did it force Him "either to renounce His mission, or else become a thaumaturgist?" (Renan, *V. de J.*, 267).

A strange specimen of the recklessness even of distinguished writers upon this subject is that St. Paul, of all men, should have been pressed into the sceptical ranks. J. S. Mill asserts that "St. Paul, the only known exception to the ignorance and want of education of the first generation of Christians, attests no miracle but that of his own conversion, which of all the miracles of the New Testa-

ment, is the one which admits of the easiest explanation from natural causes" (*Essays on Relig.*, p. 239).

Keim does not put the matter quite so rudely, but it comes to much the same in the upshot. "The Apostle Paul was silent concerning the miracles of Jesus, and repulsed with displeasure the Jewish demand for signs" (iii. 154). Even without the last clause, which makes the meaning plain, it would be clear enough that no inference could fairly be drawn from silence "concerning the miracles of Jesus," if other miracles are relied upon, wrought by His authority and in His name. When one who is simply a follower of Jesus claims to work miracles, it is absurd to pretend that his superior culture was doubtful about the miracles of his Lord. In fact, however, St. Paul, in the very earliest of his extant epistles, asserts the resurrection of Christ as a matter entirely established, and as the warrant for expecting our own (1 Thess. iv. 14). And the assertion of Mill is false to every page of Paul's writing, unless the resurrection of Jesus is "no miracle."

As to his own miracles, their treatment in his writings is most instructive and remarkable. When his authority is conceded, and a Church is at peace within itself, he does not even mention the miraculous powers which he claimed. Now this is exactly the time when excitement would lead a fanatic to flaunt them, when calculation and self-assertion would make an impostor loud about them, when only grace would keep silent about its own performances. But the moment it is necessary to vindicate his apostolic powers, just when an enthusiast would be chilled, and an impostor reserved and cautious, he promptly and always appeals to the sanction of the supernatural. Thus his use of the miracles is at once practical, sober, and bold; and it is exhibited in the very epistles which reveal his vehement, intrepid, and yet loving nature so decisively, that criticism has least to say against their authenticity, and controver-

sialists who appeal to his sentiments at all must be taken to accept their evidence.

In the First Epistle to the Corinthians, he enumerates twice over gifts of healings, workings of powers, prophecy, speaking with divers tongues, and their interpretation (xii. 9, 10, 28).

In the Second Epistle to the same restive Church, he writes: "The signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, by signs and wonders and powers"; nor were these experiences peculiar to them, but only matters in which they were not made inferior to other Churches (xii. 12, 13).

Only the wildest fanaticism of unbelief would question the Epistle to the Galatians; and, indeed, unbelief has preferred to use it against the history of St. Luke; yet there he stakes the whole controversy upon the question, "He that supplieth to you the spirit, and worketh miracles among you, doeth he it by the works of the law or by the hearing of faith?" (iii. 5). In the Epistle to the Romans, a Church rent by internal divisions, he insists upon the things "which Christ wrought through me, for the obedience of the Gentiles, by word and deed, in the power of signs and wonders" (xv. 18, 19). In fact it is impossible for the most corrosive criticism so to dissolve the writings of the great apostle that anything shall survive, and yet to obliterate the affirmation both of his own miracles, and also of the resurrection of his Lord. To use his name, therefore, in disparagement of the miraculous in the gospel story, which is the undisguised object both of Mill and Keim, is a lamentable perversion of the evidence.

On the contrary, we may boldly contend that the evidence of the Gospels and the admissions of sceptics concerning the claims of Jesus, and the admitted writings of St. Paul, reveal a phenomenon without a parallel outside our own religion. Miracles have been attributed by other persons

to many great and good men. And again, many great and good men, from St. Augustine to Cardinal Newman, have professed a belief in contemporary miracles not their own.

What cannot be matched in history is the foundation of a great and solid movement, and then its promulgation, by deep thinkers and holy and soberminded men, who claimed that they themselves, in carrying forward such a movement, were assisted by the power of working miracles.

This is the claim which Schenkel and Strauss, Renan and Keim, admit that Jesus made, however they minimize its value. It is a claim which cannot be rent away from the writings of His mighty follower. And it stands utterly alone in the annals of the human mind.

G. A. CHADWICK.

THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND.

INTRODUCTORY.

THE aim of these papers is to illustrate God's Word and the story of His early Church, by helping others to see, as I myself have seen, their earthly stage and background.

There are many ways of illustrating the Book by the Land, but some are wearisome and some are vain. There is, for instance, that most common and easy way, of taking one's readers along the track of one's own journey through Palestine, reproducing every adventure, scene, social custom or antiquity encountered, and labelling it with a text or story from Scripture. But such a method may easily degenerate into the sheerest showing of waxworks; it does not give a vision of the land as a whole, nor help you to hear through it the sound of running history. What is needed by the reader or teacher of the Bible is some idea

of the main outlines of Palestine—its shape and disposition; its plains, passes and mountains; its winds and temperatures; its colours, lights and shades. Students of the Bible desire to see a background and to feel an atmosphere—to discover from “the lie of the land” why the history took certain lines and the prophecy and gospel were expressed in certain styles—above all to discern between what physical nature contributed to that wonderful religious development and what was the product of purely moral and spiritual forces. On this last point the geography of the Holy Land reaches its highest interest. It is also good to realise the historical influences by which our religion was at first nurtured or exercised, as far as we can do this from the ruins which these have left in the country. To go no farther back than the New Testament—there are the Greek art, the Roman rule, and the industry and pride of Herod. But the remains of Scripture times are not so many as the remains of the centuries since. The Palestine of to-day is more a museum of Church history than of the Bible—a museum full of living as well as ancient specimens of its subject. East of Jordan, in the indestructible basalt of the Hauran, there are monuments of the passage from Paganism to Christianity even more numerous and remarkable than the catacombs or earliest Churches of Rome; there are also what Italy cannot give us—the melancholy wrecks of the passage from Christianity to Mohammedanism. On the west of the Jordan there are the castles and churches of the Crusaders, the impression of their brief kingdom and its ruin. And then, after the long silence and the crumbling, there are the living churches of to-day, and the lines of pilgrims coming up to Jerusalem from the four corners of the world.

Deeper than all this, however, is the need which Christian men have to realise the supreme fact of their religion—that the truth and love of God have come to us in

their highest power, not as a book or a doctrine, not as a whisper in our hearts or vague effluence upon the world, but as a Man, a native and citizen of this land, who during His earthly labours never left its narrow limits, who drew His parables from the fields its sunshine lights, and all the bustle of its daily life, who prayed and agonized for us through its quiet night scenes, and who died for the world upon one of its common places of execution.

Even for our faith in the Incarnation, I believe that a study of the historical geography of Palestine is not without its discipline. Besides helping us to realise the long preparation of history for the coming of the Son of God in the flesh, a vision of the soil and climate in which He grew up and laboured delivers us on the one hand from those abstract views of His manhood, which have so often been the error and curse of Christianity; and on the other hand, from what is a more present danger—the interpretation of Christ (prevalent with many of our preachers) as if He were a son of our own generation and soil. Nor need many words be wasted on those who foolishly imagine that for Christian faith, in general, familiarity with the features of Palestine must mean disappointment. This can happen only where faith is nothing more than sentiment; to mere religious romance a close acquaintance with Palestine will always be a shock. But he who comes with that inward experience of his religion, which no material vision can either diminish or materially increase, who comes soberly, knowing that even round Zion and upon Jordan men must walk by faith and not by sight, and who comes intelligently, with an ordered knowledge of the story of his faith and church—he will never be disillusioned by the Holy Land. Every league of her is a witness to the natural, unaffected accuracy of the Bible.¹ Her barest

¹ This has struck every visitor to the land. Napoleon the Great may be quoted: "En campant sur les ruines de ces anciennes villes, on lisait tous les

features may correct but cannot hurt his faith ; while even those historical mysteries which now darken her fields, once so bright with vision, and depress her people, once so favoured of God—those triumphs of a rude and sensual religion over the Church of Christ on the very scenes of His revelation—are but warnings of the misuse to which Christians have put the “holiness” of the land, and profound motives to labour upon it once more in the true spirit of Christ Himself.

THE FIVE PARALLEL ZONES AND THE CROSSING.

The historical geography of Palestine, so far as its relations with the rest of the world are concerned, may be summed up in a paragraph. Syria lies between two continents, Asia and Africa : between two primeval homes of men, the valley of the Euphrates and the valley of the Nile : between two great centres both of ancient and of modern empire, Western Asia and Egypt. Its long highland range, which runs almost continuously from Mount Taurus, at the north-east corner of the Levant, to the Gulf of Akaba on the Red Sea, has been likened to a bridge connecting the two continents—a bridge with the Great Sea upon its one side, and the Great Desert upon its other. The natural entrances to a bridge are by the ends ; and with two very notable exceptions all the great arrivals or assaults upon Palestine have happened from the north or from the south. The two exceptions forced the Bridge upon its eastern flank ; by this way both Israel and Islam entered upon their long occupations of the land. But for reasons which we shall presently see, no invasion ever came upon the Bridge from the west, from the sea ; even when the

soirs l'écriture sainte à haute voix sous la tente du général en chef. L'analogie et la vérité des descriptions étaient frappantes ; elles convenaient encore à ce pays après tant de siècles et de vicissitudes.”—*Mémoires pour servir : the Campaigns of Egypt and Syria, 1798–1799*, dictated by Napoleon himself. Paris, 1847.

nations of Europe sought Palestine, their armies did not enter by its harbours till the littoral was already in their possession.

Nevertheless, it is from the sea that a stranger enjoys the most comprehensive view of the country, and by the coast that he now most frequently approaches it. Before he climbs the long range, which runs down Palestine, from north to south, it is better that he should stand off the land altogether, and survey that central range itself; and the lower hills which buttress it nearly all the way along; and, between them and the sea, the plain of varying dimensions; and the straight line of coast in alternate stretches of cliff and sand. Afterwards climbing the central range, he may look down upon the Jordan Valley, and beyond it on the high tableland of Eastern Palestine.

He will then have seen the five parallel zones into which the Holy Land may be divided: (1) The Coast and Maritime Plain; (2) The Shephelah, or Low Hills; (3) The Central Range; (4) The Jordan Valley; (5) The Land East of Jordan.

For a distance of one hundred miles from the south end of the Dead Sea (a little south of Beersheba) these zones run northward unbroken. But there the first four are crossed or entered by a *sixth* great feature of the land—the wide Plain of Esdraelon or Megiddo. Esdraelon unites the maritime plain with the Jordan Valley by completely interrupting the central ranges of hills, high and low. But to the north of Esdraelon these form again, and with very considerable modification the whole five-zoned system passes out of the limits of the Holy Land—in the strip of Phœnician coast, the highlands of Galilee, and the long masses of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon with Coele-Syria between them.¹

¹ For a general view of the country the following approximate levels to the south of Esdraelon are necessary. The coast is either beach, with low sand-

In the future I propose to deal with the first of these
various types.

3. The East and the Maritime Plain.

Every one remembers the shape, on the map, of the east end of the Levant—an almost straight line running from north to south, with a slight inclination westwards: no sign of a bay or strait, some sixty miles away, and upon it opening no shelter or wind-sheltered gulf. From the north of the Nile the coast is absolutely devoid of promontories or bays, till the high headland of Carmel comes forth and forms the entrance Bay of Acre. It is this southern end of the coast-line of Syria—ninety or one hundred miles from Carmel to the border of Egypt, that we are now to consider. No invader, as I have said, has ever disembarked on this coast to seek or find till the country behind was already in his power. Even invaders from Europe.—Alexander, Pompey, the First Crusaders and Napoleon.—have found their way into Palestine by land, either from Asia Minor or from Sicily.

[illegible]

The window box is filled in Father's window. The hole is covered the bottom of the plant pot, where the part of Father's box is in, and the flower comes out of the top. That means that the words and signs are not any longer to be repeating.

[illegible]

The inhabitants of the coast have indeed attempted the creation of harbours, but have never succeeded in making one permanent. Gaza and Jaffa are unsheltered roadsteads—the latter with a reef almost more dangerous in storm than it is useful in calm. Ascalon, Ashdod and Jamnia had once small ports, but they have disappeared, and their sites are used only as landing places for small boats. Even the Roman Cæsarea has almost wholly crumbled away. Athlit, the Crusaders' last stronghold on holy soil, was hardly more than an exposed jetty.¹

I have twice sailed along this coast on a summer afternoon with a western sun thoroughly illuminating it, and I remember no break in the long line of foam where land and sea met, no single spot where the land gave way and welcomed the sea to itself. On both occasions the air was quiet, yet all along the line there was disturbance. It seemed as if the land were everywhere saying to the sea: I do not wish you, I do not need you. And that is but the echo of the land's history. Throughout the Old Testament the sea spreads before us for spectacle, for symbol, for music, but never for use—save in the one case when a prophet sought it as an escape from his God. In the Psalms the straight coast serves to illustrate the irremovable limits which the Almighty has set between sea and land. In the Prophets its roar and foam symbolize the futile rage of the heathen beating on Jehovah's steadfast purpose for His own people: *Ah! the booming of the peoples, the multitudes—like the booming of the seas they boom; and the rushing of the nations, like the rushing of*

¹ North of Carmel it is different. Acre has always deserved to some extent the name of a port, and many have been the famous embarkations upon its quays. It was commercially important in very early times (Song of Deborah, v. 17). It was a Roman colony under Claudius; a landing-place for pilgrims and Crusaders; a dépôt for Genoese and Venetian fleets in the early middle ages; and a trading station of some importance, ever since. But that so unsheltered a roadstead should for so long have been so important, is the plainer proof of the bareness of the rest of the coast.

*mighty waters they rush; nations—like the rushing of many waters they rush. But He checketh it, and it fleeth far away, and is chased like chaff on the mountains before the wind, and like swirling dust before a whirlwind.*¹

As in the Psalms and the Prophets, so also in the History the sea was a barrier and not a highway. From the first it was said: *Ye shall have the Great Sea for a border.*² There were three tribes, of whom we have evidence that they reached the maritime frontier appointed for them: Dan, who in Deborah's time was *remaining in ships*,³ but he speedily left them and his bit of coast at Joppa for the far inland sources of Jordan; and Asher and Zebulon, whose territory was not south but north of Carmel. Even in their case no ports are mentioned,—the word translated *haven*, in the blessing of Zebulon and in the blame of Asher,⁴ being but *beach*, land *washed* by the sea, and the word translated *creeks* meaning no more than just that,—*cracks* or *breaks*. So that the only mention of a real harbour in the Old Testament is in the general picture of the storm in Psalm cvii., where the word used means *refuge*. Of the name or idea of a *port*, gateway in or out, there is no trace; and Major Conder has remarked the interesting fact that in the designation for Cæsarea in the Talmud, Limineh, and in the name still given to some landing-places on the Philistine coast, El-Mineh, it is no Semitic root, but the Greek *Limen* which appears.⁵ In this inability of their coast-line to furnish the language of Israel with even the suggestion of a port, we have the crowning proof of the peculiar security and seclusion of their land as far as the sea is concerned.

Here I may point out how much truth there is in the common contrast between Palestine and Greece. In respect of security the two lands did not much differ; the physical

Isa. xvii. 12, 13.

² Num. xxxiv. 6.

³ Judges v. 17.

⁴ Gen. xlix. 13; Judges v. 17.

⁵ *Tent Work*, see p. 283.

geography of Greece is even more admirably adapted than that of Palestine for purposes of defence. But in respect of seclusion from the rest of the world, they differed entirely. Upon almost every league of his broken and embayed coast-line, the ancient Greek had an invitation to voyage. The sea came far inland to woo him : by island after island she tempted him across to other continents. She was the ready means to him of commerce, of colonising, and of all that change of his native life, and that adventure with other men, which breed openness, originality and subtlety of mind. But the coast-line of the Jew was very different, and from his high inland station he saw it only afar off—a stiff, stormy line, down the whole length of which as there was nothing to tempt men in, so there was nothing to tempt them out.

The effect of a nation's physical environment upon their temper and ideals is always interesting, but can never be more than vaguely described. Whereas of even greater interest, and capable, too, of exact definition, because abrupt, imperious and supreme, is the manner in which a nation's genius, by sheer moral force and Divine inspiration, dares to look beyond its natural limits, feels at last too great for the conditions in which it was developed, and appropriates regions and peoples, towards which Nature has provided it with no avenue. Such a process is nowhere more evident than in the history of Israel. In the development of Israel's religious consciousness, there came a time when her eyes were lifted beyond that iron coast, and her face, in the words of her great prophet, *became radiant and her heart large with the sparkle of the sea : for there is turned upon thee the sea's flood-tide, and the wealth of the nations is coming unto thee. Who are these like a cloud that fly, and like doves to their windows ? Surely towards Me the isles are stretching, and ships of Tarshish in the van, to bring thy sons from afar, their silver and their gold with*

them, to the name of Jehovah of Hosts and to the Holy of Israel, for He hath glorified thee. Isles here are any maritime lands, but it is admitted that the prophet had chiefly in view those western islands and coasts, of which the Greek enjoyed physical sight, but which to the Hebrew could be the object only of spiritual hope and daring.¹

The isles shall wait for His law: let them give glory to Jehovah, and publish His praise in the isles: unto Me the isles shall hope. It is true that this communication between Judea and the West was not at first fulfilled across the coast of Palestine: the Jewish dispersion took place chiefly from Alexandria and Babylon. But at last even that coast was broken through, and a real port established upon it. It is singular that this should have happened just in time to be of use in Israel's second great dispersion and apostolate. Every one knows the part played by Cæsarea in the early progress of Christianity. (In the same connexion Stanley fitly recalls that Peter's first vision of the Gentile world came upon him at Joppa). Now Cæsarea had just been built by Herod in honour of Augustus. It speedily became and long continued to be the virtual capital of Palestine—the only instance of any coast city which did so. It was the seat of the Roman Procurator, and, through the first Christian centuries, of the Metropolitan of Palestine. So much for the single and very late exception to the impassableness of the coast of the Holy Land. Its appearance, in spite of nature, at “the fulness of the times” is very significant.

¹ Cyprus is not visible from any part of the Holy Land proper. But its peaks are within sight of the mountains of Northern Syria, and at certain seasons of the year even of Lebanon. In midsummer, when the sun sets in the north-west, and between sunset and dark, a summit of Mount Troödos is visible from the hills above Beyrout. In July, 1891, Dr. Carslaw, of Shweir, and I saw the bare mountain-top from a hill in front of Shweir, six hours above Beyrout, and 5,000 feet above the Mediterranean.

Beyond this forbidding coast there stretches as you look east a prospect of plain, the Maritime Plain—on the north cut swiftly down upon by Carmel, whose headland comes within 200 yards of the sea, but at Carmel's other end six miles broad, and thence gradually widening southwards, till at Joppa there are twelve miles, and farther south there are twenty miles between the far blue mountains of Judæa and the sea. The Maritime Plain divides into three portions. The north corner between Carmel and the sea is bounded on the south by the Crocodile River, the modern Nahr-el-Zerka, and is about twenty-one miles long. From the Crocodile River the Plain of Sharon, widening from eight miles to twelve, rolls southward, forty-four miles to the mouth of the Nahr Rubin and a line of low hills on the south of Ramleh. The country is undulating, with groups of hills from 250 to 300 feet high. To the north it is largely wild moor and marsh, with one large oak wood in the extreme north, and groves of the same tree scattering southward—remains, doubtless, of the great forest which Strabo describes in this region. In the southern half of Sharon there is far more cultivation,—cornfields, fields of melons, gardens, orange groves, and groves of palms, with strips of coarse grass and sand, frequent villages on mounds, the once considerable towns of Jaffa, Lydda and Ramleh, and the high road running between them to Jerusalem. To the south of the low hills that bound Sharon, the Plain of Philistia rolls on to the River of Egypt, about forty miles, rising now and again into gentle ranges 300 feet high, and cut here and there by a gully. But Philistia is mostly level, everywhere capable of cultivation and presenting the view of vast seas of corn.

The whole Maritime Plain possesses a quiet but rich beauty. If the contours are gentle the colours are strong and varied. Along almost the whole seaboard runs a strip of links and downs, sometimes of pure drifting sand, some-

times of grass and sand together. Outside this border of broken gold there is the blue sea, with its fringe of foam. Within the soil is a chocolate brown: with breaks and gullies, now bare to their dirty white shingle and stagnant puddles, and now full of rich dark green reeds and rushes that tell of swift and ample water beneath. Over corn and moorland a million flowers are scattered—poppies, pimpernels, anemones, the convolvulus, and the mallow, the narcissus and blue iris—"roses of Sharon and lilies of the valley." Lizards haunt all the sunny banks. The shimmering air is filled with bees and butterflies, and with the twittering of small birds, hushed now and then as the shadow of a great hawk blots the haze. Nor when darkness comes is all a blank. The soft night is sprinkled thick with glittering fireflies.

Such a plain, rising through the heat by dim slopes to the long persistent range of blue hills beyond, presents to-day a prospect of nothing but fruitfulness and peace. And yet it has ever been one of the most famous war-paths of the world. It is not only level, it is open. If its coast-line is so destitute of harbours, both its ends offer wide and easy entrances. The southern rolls off upon the great passage from Syria to Egypt: upon those illustrious, as well as horrible, ten sandy marches from Gaza,—past Rafia, Rhinocoloura, "the Serbonian Bog," and the sands where Pompey was stabbed to death,—to Pelusium and the Nile. Of this historical highway between Asia and Africa, along which Thothmes, Sennacherib, Alexander, Cambyeses, Antipater, Titus, Napoleon and many more great generals have led their armies—of this highway the Maritime Plain of Palestine is but the continuation.

Nor is the north end of the Plain shut in by Carmel, as the view from the sea clearly shows. From the sea the skyline of Carmel, running south-east from the coast

at an angle of 45° , is bow-shaped, drooping from the central height to both ends. At the sea, under the headland, a beach of 200 yards is left; but this, though often used by armies, is not the historical passage round Carmel, which lies at the other, or inland end. There the ridge ceases before the central range of the land is reached. A number of low hills with easy passes through them and one great valley, the valley of Dothan, divide Carmel from the high hills of Samaria. By this division the Maritime Plain easily communicates with the Plain of Esdraelon, and the open road from Egypt is continued all the way to Jordan at Beisan, or to the north end of the Lake of Galilee, and so to Damascus.¹

To this issue of Sharon into Esdraelon, which is hardly ever noticed in manuals of sacred geography, too much attention cannot be paid. Its presence is felt by all the history of the land. No pass had more effect upon the direction of campaigns, the sites of great battles, or the limitation of Israel's actual possessions. We shall more fully see the effects of it when we come to study the plain of Esdraelon. Here it is enough to mention such facts as illustrate the easy access between Esdraelon and Sharon.

¹ The headland of Carmel is some 500 feet above the sea; thence the ridge rises in rather over eleven miles to 1,810 feet; thence drops for eight or nine miles to about 700 feet above the sea. Then come, almost at right angles to Carmel, the series of lower ranges (mostly about 600 feet, but with peaks as high as 1,600 feet) among which the easy passes penetrate from Sharon into Esdraelon. The chief pass is from Kh. es Sumrah to Lejjun (one of the sites favoured for Megiddo), a distance of about twelve miles as the crow flies. The level of Sharon at its eastern margin by the foot of the hills is 200 feet above the sea. Esdraelon at Lejjun is about the same; there are no figures as to the pass between, but it cannot be much higher. The other and more used way from Sharon to Esdraelon by Dothan leaves Sharon much farther to the south and goes up the Wady Abu Nar, afterwards W. el Ghamik and W. el Wesa into Dothan, which is some 650 or 700 feet above the sea. From Dothan the way descends north-east to Jenin in Esdraelon, 517 feet. This road from Sharon to Esdraelon is about seventeen miles, but it is much nearer than the Lejjun route for Beisan and the Jordan Valley, and is no doubt the historical road from Egypt and the Mediterranean coast to the east of the Jordan and Damascus.

In ancient Egyptian documents of travel and invasion,¹ the names Gaza, Joppa, Megiddo, Beth-shan have all been identified, and a journey is recorded which was made in a chariot from Egypt to Bethshan. In the Bible, too, both the Philistines and the Egyptians are frequently represented in Esdraelon. It must surprise the reader of the historical books that Saul and Jonathan should have to come so far north as Gilboa to fight with Philistines, whose border was to the south of them, and that king Josiah should meet the Egyptians at Megiddo. The explanation is afforded by the easy passage from Sharon into Esdraelon. There is no such pass from the Maritime Plain into the Judæan hills, and therefore these southern foes of Israel sought the easier entrance to her centre on the north.

We now see why the Maritime Plain was so famous a war-path. It is really not the whole of Palestine which deserves that name of Bridge between Asia and Africa—it is this level and open coast-land along which the embassies and armies of the two continents passed to and fro, not troubling themselves, unless they were provoked, with the barren and awkward highlands to the east. So Thothmes III., for example, passed north by Megiddo to the Hittite frontier and the Euphrates. So Tiglath Pileser and Shalmaneser and Sargon swept south across Jordan and Esdraelon to the cities of the Philistines without troubling Judah. So Napoleon brought up his legions from Egypt to fight the battle of Tabor on Esdraelon's northern slope. From their hills the Jews could watch all the spectacle of war between them and the sea—the burning villages, the swift, long lines of chariots and cavalry—years before Jerusalem herself was threatened.² When Judas Maccabeus

¹ Like *The Travels of an Egyptian Mohar*, *The Annals of Thothmes III.*, Letters from Egyptian Officials in Syria, found at Tel-el-Amarna.

² Isa. v. 10.

burnt the harbour and ships at Jamnia, *the light of the fire was seen at Jerusalem two hundred and fifty furlongs off*.¹ It was on this plain, by a victory at Ascalon over an Egyptian army, that Godfrey won Jerusalem for the Christians for a hundred years; and during that and the subsequent century the plain, down to the borders of Egypt, was the scene of innumerable conflicts and sieges between the Crusaders and the African Moslems; a more constantly contested part of Syria there was not all that time. But perhaps this garden of the Lord was never so violated and made horrible as when in the spring of 1799 Napoleon brought up his great army from Egypt, and the plague followed them, or when in the heat of summer he retreated to Egypt, burning the towns of the plain and abandoning his sick and wounded.²

Two other facts remain to be stated concerning this first zone of the Holy Land, and its openness to north and south.

It has once and perhaps twice given its name to the whole country. The doubtful instance is Canaan, the certain is Palestine. Canaan means the *low* or *sunken* land, in distinction to *Aram*, the *high* or *lifted* land. It was originally given to the coast-land inhabited by the Phœnicians; whether it applied also to Sharon and Philistia is doubtful. More probably it included the deep depression of the Jordan. It must have applied to one or other of the low countries on either side of the Judæan highlands, for it could scarcely have been extended to these latter from Phœnicia. In the Old Testament Pelesheth is still only the Philistine coast, after which also the sea beyond is called.³ In accurate description of the physical shape of the Maritime Plain, the sacred writers

¹ II. Maccabees xii. 10.

² *Campagnes d'Égypte et de Syrie, 1798-1799. Mémoires pour servir, etc. Dictées par Napoléon lui-même et publiées par le Général Bertrand.* Paris, 1847.

³ Exod. xxiii. 31.

twice call it *the shoulder*.¹ But the Egyptians naturally understood by Philistia not only the little strip of coast, but all the country beyond, and with that meaning the name passed from them to the Greeks. Josephus employs *Palestina* in both senses,² but most ancient writers use it only of the whole land between Jordan and the sea.³

If this "shoulder" was to foreigners their first step into the Holy Land, it was to the natives of that land in periods of expansion their first step into the world. Little of the history of the Jews was transacted upon it; but as soon as the old dispensation has fallen, the sacred story bursts the barrier of the hills and carries us out on the plain of Sharon. With the apostles and evangelists of Christ we are at Ashdod, Lydda, Jaffa, Cæsarea.

The five cities of the Philistines were Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron and Gath. The site of Gath is alone uncertain, and may best be inferred from a consideration of the other four. Three, Gaza, Ashkelon and Ashdod, are on the coast, but stand off the sea as if they felt that their business was not with her. They are just such sites as immigrants like the Philistines would naturally settle upon, and continue to fortify, for they dominate the level coast road. Like Damascus, Gaza has no advantage of position other than the nearness of its fertile fields to the desert. It is not a strong place, but it is an indispensable one,—a harbour of refuge from the wilderness that stretches away to Egypt and to Arabia, a market

¹ חֵזֶק, Josh. xv. 11, *the shoulder of Ekron*, and Isa. xi. 14: *Ephraim and Judah shall fly down on the shoulder of the Philistines on the west*.

² In the original sense *Antiq.* I. 6 § 2, etc.: and in the general sense, *Arch.* 8, 4.

³ *Palestina*, in the second century, was a province of the Roman empire, with Cæsarea as capital. Later on there were three *Palestinas*. *Palestina* I., the coast with the most of Judæa and Samaria. *Palestina* II., to the east with Scythopolis for capital. *Palestina* III., or the other side of Jordan to Petra. The Arab "jund" or military canton, *Filistin*, corresponded to *Palestina* I.

for the Bedouin as far as the Hijjaz, an outpost and garrison of civilisation.

Far more important in military history has been Ashkelon. The site does not look a historical one, but during the Crusades it was the key to south-western Palestine. The Moslems called it the "Bride of Syria," and the "Summit of Syria."¹ The Egyptians held it long after the Crusaders occupied Jerusalem. It faced the Christian outposts at Ramleh, resisted many assaults, and discharged two expeditions right up to the walls of Jerusalem before it was captured by Baldwin III. in 1154. The scene of two more battles, it was retaken by Saladin in 1187, and dismantled by him four years later when he retired upon Jerusalem. The Christians tried to rebuild the fortress, but then came the truce, one of the articles of which was that Ashkelon should be fortified by neither side, and the place was finally demolished in 1270. This fierce contest and jealousy amply certify the strategical importance of the old Philistine site, which in itself has no other explanation of its history than the presence of sweet water and an open road to Egypt. In David's Lamentation over Saul it is not Gath and Gaza, but Gath and Ashkelon which are taken as the two typical cities. *Publish it not in the streets of Ashkelon*: the city was always renowned as "opulent and spacious."²

The importance of Ashdod is explained by its position—on water, and at the mouth of the most broad and fertile wady of Philistia; but the site has not even the slight elevation of Ashkelon, and its appearance in military history is only in the records of its capture.³

With these three coast towns of the Philistine League, we may associate Jabneh or Jamnia with its creek at the

¹ Le Strange: *Palestine under the Moslems*, p. 462.

² *Palestine under the Moslems*—Ashkelon.

³ 2 Chron. xxvi. 8; Isaiah xx.

mouth of the Rubin, famous in the history of the Jews for their frequent captures of it, and for the settlement there of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and a school of rabbinic theology after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. Inland from the site of Jamnia lay Ekron (modern 'Akir), which won its place in the league by its possession of an oracle of Beelzebub and by its site on the northern frontier of Philistia in the Vale of Sorek, where a pass breaks through the low hills to Ramleh in Sharon.

Now where was Gath? The site of Gath has been fixed on the eastern edge of the plain, along the beginning of the low hills—by some on the isolated height, Tell-es-Safiyeh, which commands the entrance to the Vale of Elah, and looks across Philistia to the sea, a site so important that Richard I. fortified it, and called it Blanchegarde from its white limestone scarps—by others on the south-eastern angle of the plains in a pass leading north between the Shephelah hills on the east, and a region of cross ridges running down towards Gaza.¹ It is certain that Gath lay inland. The ark when taken to Ashdod was *brought about*, i.e. inland again to Gath; Gath was the Philistine city most frequently retaken by the Israelites; after taking Gath a leader could talk of marching against Jerusalem;² it was rebuilt by Rehoboam as a city of Judah. Gath therefore lay inland. I am quite as sure that it lay on the north of Philistia, and not where Mr. Saunders would put it, on the extreme south. It is mentioned between Ashkelon and Ekron;³ with Ekron,⁴ especially in the pursuit of the Philistines from Elah to Ekron;⁵ and in a raid of the inhabitants of the Vale of Ajalon.⁶ In a raid of Uzziah it is coupled with Jamnia and Ashdod.⁷ All this does not

¹ Trelawney Saunders: *Introduction to Survey of Western Palestine*.

² 2 Kings xii. 17.

³ 1 Sam. v. viii.

⁴ *Ib.* vii. 14.

⁵ *Ib.* xviii.

⁶ 1 Chron. viii. 23.

⁷ 2 Chron. v. 8.

prevent its having been at Tell-es-Safiyeh, a site which agrees with Jerome's data; but I am inclined to place it even farther north. It is significant that the Crusaders reckoned it at Jamnia, but it must have been farther inland.

Such were the famous Five Cities, mothers of those mysterious men, who suddenly break out of the darkness of early history to war against the chosen people of God, and in their light have remained through all ages, types of idolatry, impenetrableness and obscurantism.

In the next paper we shall turn to the debatable ground between the Philistines and Israel—the second of the parallel zones—the Shephelah.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

BRIEF NOTICES.

Prof. Rendel Harris' *Codex Bezae, A Study of the so-called Western Text of the New Testament*, is a model of original research and felicitous exposition. It forms the first part of the second volume of the series of *Texts and Studies* edited by Mr. Armitage Robinson, and published by the Cambridge University Press, and it is sufficient of itself to win the amplest recognition and a permanent place for this series. The purpose of Prof. Harris' study is to throw light upon the origin of the Western Text by investigating and tracing to their source the anomalous readings and general affinities of Codex Bezae. He finds that the MS. itself is of Gallican origin. This is proved in a most interesting chapter in which the local pronunciation is shown to have affected the orthography of certain words. As Augustus becomes in French Aout, Lugdunum Lyons and so forth, so in this remarkable MS. AION is found for AEFION, AON for AOTON and other similar traces of Gallican pronunciation. But it is in tracing the text represented in Codex D that Prof. Harris breaks into a new field. He adduces evidence to show that the Latin text of this MS. is genealogically contiguous to the Latin translation of Irenaeus, that Tatian used a Latin copy of the gospels and a copy whose text was closely related to the Latin of Codex D, and he makes it

appear probable in the highest degree that the whole body of Western readings go back to a single bilingual copy, the remote ancestor of D, and existing early in the second century. So much evidence for these results is adduced, and the reasoning is so perspicuous, that it seems likely that Prof. Harris' conclusions will be accepted. His attempt to identify the birthplace of this text is perhaps not so successful. The abundant traces of Montanist influence enable him, he thinks, with some certainty to assign its origin to Rome, Carthage, or Lyons, but his grounds for preferring Carthage seem scarcely adequate. Such studies as this not only maintain the credit of English scholarship but materially advance Biblical learning, and must almost inevitably attract to this field of inquiry a larger number of well-equipped workers. It is scarcely necessary to add that the volume is beautifully printed.

The reputation of the *Expositor's Bible* is more than sustained by Mr. Denney's volume on *The Epistles to the Thessalonians* (Hodder and Stoughton). Were one compelled to characterize it in one word, that word would be "strong." It is pervaded by the strength that indicates an earnest moral nature rooted in carefully ascertained and firmly held truth. The spirit of power and of love and of a sound mind is everywhere discernible. Hence there is a rare and remarkable combination of uncompromising orthodoxy with the most perfectly frank outspokenness. If independence in thought be the faculty of looking with one's own eyes and seeing for oneself, unbiassed by what others have seen and led one to expect to see, few men can be more independent than Mr. Denney. This appears perhaps most conspicuously in his treatment of the Man of Sin, but also in his firm and lucid interpretation of every difficult passage in the Epistles. Mr. Denney is a born exegete; but strong as are his doctrinal expositions, his enforcement of ethical points is even stronger. His book distinctly advances our knowledge of the Epistles to the Thessalonians.

In *Pictured Palestine* Mr. James Neil, formerly incumbent of Christ Church, Jerusalem, has laid himself open to the suspicion of bookmaking. Neither letterpress nor illustrations are quite up to the level of his former very successful volumes. Not that there is nothing to be enjoyed or learned from the present work,

for Mr. Neil presents us with some illustrations of Scripture which are both striking and novel, and the "pictures" are often above reproach. All through the book the reader feels the satisfaction of listening to a man who is perfectly at home in what he is describing, and who imparts his information in an interesting manner. But why should Mr. Neil, or any one else at this time of day, elaborately inform us that in the East sons are more welcome than daughters, or that one daily sees exemplification of the truth that fingers were made before knives and forks, or that superstitions abound, or that Eastern customs are slow to change? In this year of grace one or two things may be taken for granted. Mr. Neil's book is published by Messrs. James Nisbet.—Another book on Palestine has been produced by Mr. D. M. Ross, of Dundee, and is published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton under the title *The Cradle of Christianity*. This is a book that deserves to be widely read. It is written for those "who are not deeply versed in recent literature on Palestine," and the author succeeds in presenting the broad features of the country and the most outstanding characteristics of its population. So fresh are Mr. Ross' descriptions that the reader feels he has never seen Palestine before. The shadeless roads, the bare hills, even the Jordan and the Sea of Galilee, seem to be seen for the first time. The chapter on "The Queer Folk in Palestine" will surprise and delight many; and the bright, broad intelligence with which everything is described, and which enters sympathetically into the most various customs and religious observances, makes it a very great treat to sit at the fireside and travel with Mr. Ross for a guide.

Mrs. Harris has very admirably seconded her husband's work by giving a brief and popular account of Prof. Rendel Harris' discovery of the Apology of Aristides in the library of the convent of St. Catherine. From this small and pretty volume, published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton, and entitled *The Newly Discovered Apology of Aristides*, any one may in an hour or two obtain a fair idea of the fortunes and contents of this remarkable relic of the 2nd century. In *Social and Present Day Questions* (Hodder and Stoughton), Archdeacon Farrar proves himself worthy of the position he holds as the preacher in what may popularly be called the most national pulpit in the land. The sermons in this volume exhibit the usual eloquence and felicity of

quotation to which we are accustomed in Dr. Farrar's writings they exhibit also a very earnest interest in the social problems with which we are at present beset.

Messrs. Unwin Brothers (The Gresham Press) have sent us a copy of their edition of *The Collected Sermons of Thomas Fuller, D.D.*, 1631-1659. These two handsome volumes may be recommended to all book-fanciers as beautiful specimens of typography. The editing of the sermons has been a labour of love to the late John Eglinton Bailey and Mr. William E. A. Axon. It is too late in the day to recommend Thomas Fuller. In these sermons, as in all his writings, we are entertained with an overflowing and wise wit, with inexhaustible learning, and with a devoutness of spirit which insensibly elevates the reader. But the chief feeling which these handsome volumes evoke is one of regret that we have not all Fuller's works in a similar form.

MARCUS DODS.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

IV. THE AUTHOR.

It has become almost a fixed custom with defenders of the Fourth Gospel to conduct their argument in a series of narrowing circles, proving (1) that the author must have been a Jew, (2) that he must have been a Jew of Palestine, (3) that he must have been a contemporary and eye-witness of the events, (4) that if a contemporary and eye-witness he was probably an Apostle, and (5) that if an Apostle he was probably St. John. The first and the (except on the theory of Dr. Delff) latest steps in this chain of reasoning are becoming more and more generally admitted; and the controversy is coming more and more to concentrate itself on the two intermediate points, the proposition that the author was a Jew of Palestine, and the proposition that he was a contemporary and eye-witness.

It was one of the axioms of Tübingen criticism that the author represented the Gentile branch of the Church. He was held to have had nothing to do with Palestine; and instances were quoted to show his ignorance not only of Palestinian geography but of Jewish customs. The first I believe to throw over these instances, though they would of course have made for his own conclusion, was Keim.

"Under this head," he wrote, "we do not reckon the list of errors, in general history, or in geography which it is the fashion to prove, over and above the Synoptics, from the Old Testament, from Josephus, and even from Eusebius and Jerome. There is the less need to accept these supposed errors about Bethany and Bethesda, Cana and Kidron, Salem

and Sychar, about the 'high priest of that year,' and about the distances of Cana and Capernaum, Bethany and Peræa, because in other respects the author shows a fairly good knowledge of the country, and even the most difficult cases can be explained by a special intention. The high priest of the 'Death-Year' (Todesjahres) is significant, and does not at all betray the opinion of a yearly change in the office; Sychar is a vernacular or mock name for Sichem; Salem and Ain are situated in Judæa, or rather in Samaria, to the borders of which the forerunner of him who sat by Jacob's well made his way; the exaggeration of distances is to enhance the miracle."¹

Further on Keim admits a Hebrew colouring in the language, an understanding of the Old Testament in the original, acquaintance with Jewish customs and places, and even with particular features (Einzelmomente) in the Messianic idea.² And the ultimate conclusion to which he comes is that the author was "well acquainted with the Holy Land; a Jewish Christian, though liberal and friendly disposed towards the Gentiles, and probably belonging to the Jewish Diaspora in Asia Minor."³

Schürer himself takes up very much the same position.

"Among serious difficulties we need no longer reckon at the present day the supposed ignorance of Palestinian and Jewish matters from which Bretschneider and Baur inferred that the author was neither a Palestinian nor in any sense a Jew. The geographical errors and ignorance of things Jewish have more and more shrunk to a *minimum*. And the opposition no longer lays stress upon them. It is true that everything is not explained. In particular it remains questionable that the author seems to have assumed a yearly change in the high priesthood. But on the whole he has without doubt a good knowledge of things Jewish. And even by opponents of the genuineness, it is more and more pronounced probable that he was of Jewish origin, Hellenistic if not Palestinian."⁴

¹ *Gesch. Jesu v. Nazara*, i. 133. (There are several faults in the rendering of this passage in E. T., i. 181 f., ed. 2.)

² *Ibid.*, p. 156 (E. T., p. 212).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 168 (E. T., p. 228).

⁴ *Vortrag*, p. 67 f. This instalment was written before the appearance of Dr. Schürer's essay in English, and the quotations are left as they stood from the original as being in several respects a more satisfactory presentation of his views.

To this last point we shall return. In the meantime, in reference to the one lingering objection which is still taken by Schürer, it is enough to appeal to the answer already given by Keim. In view of the writer's sense of the solemnity of the crisis which he is describing, and in view of his fondness for casting emphasis by the use of the particular word *ἐκεῖνος*, in view too of the admission just made of his knowledge of Jewish customs, which includes many things far more minute and remote than those of the tenure of the high priesthood, it is surely strained on the part of Schürer, and unlike his usual judgment to leave even this one objection standing.¹

We might leave the whole matter here, content only to claim that if so much is conceded as both Schürer and Keim are ready to concede, it shall be taken in earnest, and not merely remain as a concession in words, but be allowed to have the full weight in the mind which it deserves to have; we might be content with this, if it were not that a more sweeping objection has recently been raised by Mr. Cross. Mr. Cross calls in question not the minor premiss of the argument but the major. He does not dispute the local knowledge, but he disputes the inference that is drawn from it.

"We cannot but feel," he says, "as we read [the Fourth Gospel] that the writer is quite at home in Palestine. He knows the general lie of the country, the position of Samaria, the shores of the Sea of Galilee, and many such other places, with their special local features, and his narrative moves freely and without constraint through these scenes. Still this knowledge, or even his use of it in telling his story, does not prove that he was an eye-witness. It does not even prove that he was a native of Palestine."²

He quotes the cases of Origen and Jerome, both resident

¹ The two Holtzmanns account for what they think the mistake by confusion with the Asian high priesthood, which did change hands every year. (H. Holtzmann, *Einl.*, p. 469, ed. 2; O. Holtzmann, *Joh.-Ev.*, p. 115.)

² *Westminster Review*, Aug., 1890, p. 177.

for long periods in Palestine, and he desiderates a fuller examination of the literary habits of the time. In a later article he returns to the subject. He urges that

“Many examples might be cited to show that a knowledge of Palestine was not limited to born Jews. . . . It is remarkable that in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, a work which is universally dated long after the destruction of Jerusalem, there are a large number of very exact references, not only to the topography of Palestine and neighbouring countries, but also to Jerusalem and the buildings of the Temple, much more than are to be found in any of the Gospels, or perhaps in all of them together.”¹

It may be well therefore to pause a moment, and ask a little more precisely how far this argument will carry us. There are obvious limits to it, and it is important that these limits should be borne in mind. It will be hardly necessary for me to say that the argument has not been invented for the purpose of application to St. John's Gospel, but that it is in common use amongst critics; and I confess that, so far as I can judge, the use hitherto made of it is a sound one. Some of the best examples would, I think, be taken from the writings of Professor Ramsay. I may refer, for instance, to his treatment of the stories of St. Artemon and St. Abercius in *THE EXPOSITOR*.² “Fidelity of local detail,” he says, “is one of the most important characteristics of the class of tales which is here described.” However, the notes of place may be right, but the notes of time wrong. The inference is that the story grew up where the scene is laid, though it took the exact shape in which it has come down to us at a later period. The case of St. Abercius is peculiarly interesting because the growth of the legend can be traced from its beginning in an epitaph cut in stone by the order of Abercius himself, and rediscovered by Professor Ramsay.³ Other examples of the same kind might be taken

¹ *Critical Review*, Feb., 1891, p. 157 f.

² 1889, I, 141 ff., 253 ff., 392 ff.

³ See the articles referred to above; also Lightfoot, *Ignatius*, i. 476 ff.

from the same traveller's recent work on Asia Minor. Thus it is proved that the tale of St. Zosimus "first took literary form after the reorganization of the provinces attributed to Diocletian; but the local knowledge is a clear mark of a genuine popular tradition living in the country."¹ In regard to another document, the "Acts of Theodore Sykeota," Professor Ramsay does not require confirmation for all the details, where enough are confirmed to be a guarantee for the remainder. At the same time, a distinction is drawn between the different parts of the area to which the evidence extends. "The numerous topographical details which we cannot control by independent testimony may be accepted with confidence for the country within a moderate distance; but in regard to remoter cities, the author's geographical knowledge is defective."² Like traces of local knowledge appear in the Acts of Basiliscus and John of Kybistra.³

Another writer who has made a brilliant use of local indications is Von Gutschmid in his Essay on "Names of Kings in the Apocryphal Acts" (*Die Koenigsnamen in den apokr. Apostelgeschichten* ⁴). I may mention for the benefit of our own explorers, in case it should happen to have escaped them, that he calls attention (p. 388) to the material that may be obtained from the "Acts of Barnabas" for the topography of the island of Cyprus. Throughout this essay there is the underlying assumption that geographical accuracy shows where, if not when, a legend arose.

On one of the Acts discussed by Von Gutschmid the last word has probably not yet been spoken. It was a striking discovery that the Princess Tryphæna, who plays a part

¹ *Historical Geog. of Asia Minor*. London, 1890, p. 400 n.

² *Ibid.*, p. 246 f.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 262, 337.

⁴ Reprinted in vol. ii. of his posthumously collected *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1890).

in the Acts of Paul and Thecla, was a historical personage, the discarded wife of Polemo II., king at different times of Pontus, the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and Cilicia. Von Gutschmid locates this lady at Antioch in Pisidia, which is, or ought to be, the scene of the Thecla legend. Dr. Gwynn, in an elaborate article in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (s.v. Thecla) speaks more doubtfully. We know in any case from Tertullian that the original Acts of Paul and Thecla, which are probably ours, though possibly only the base out of which ours have been constructed, were written by a presbyter of the province of Asia. Dr. Gwynn thinks that he shows signs of some, but not an exact, acquaintance with the localities with which he is dealing.¹ We may look for more light on this subject;² and it may be observed in passing that it is important to get at the true text of the Acts for which Lipsius, following Tischendorf, has now given us ample materials.³

It was by following a similar method to Von Gutschmid and Ramsay, that Usener was able to assign an Ephesian origin to the Acts of St. Timothy, which he was the first to publish in the Greek,⁴ though in their present form they seem to date from the fourth century. On the one hand there is the mention of the *Catagogia*, a festival probably of Artemis, and the suburb of Pion; on the other hand Lycaonia is described as a "province," which it did not become till the time of Diocletian. In contrast with these Acts we have the *Acta Johannis* of Prochorus: their scene is laid at Ephesus, and a number of would-be Ephesian or Asiatic localities are mentioned, all either non-existent or wrongly

¹ *Ut sup.*, p. 893 f.

² Since this was written (and I leave it exactly as it stood) I hear that the new light desiderated is soon to be thrown in the pages of THE EXPOSITOR by Professor Ramsay.

³ *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha* (Lipsiæ, 1891), i. 235 ff.

⁴ Univ.-programme, Bonn, 1877.

placed.¹ This is enough to mark a pure romance. Like the Acts of Timothy, that ancient Syriac work the *Doctrine of Addai* itself belongs to the fourth or early fifth century, but there are local traits which clearly connect it with Edessa.² An example of the way in which a single local touch may reveal the nationality of a writer is supplied by an interesting work published not long ago for the first time by Gamurrini. The work in question bears the title, *S. Silviæ Aquitanæ Peregrinatio ad Loca Sancta ann. 385-388* (Romæ, 1887),³ mainly on the strength of two allusions. The authoress, who is writing to the sisters in a nunnery with which she had been connected, is seen to be a native of Gaul from the way in which she compares the Euphrates in the rush and breadth of its waters to the Rhone; and her date is fixed approximately by the state of things at Edessa, which she visits, and on the Eastern frontier of the empire.⁴ The identification with Silvia, the sister of Rufinus, the minister of Theodosius and Arcadius, also rests on fair grounds, and has not yet been questioned. One is reminded of another coincidence on which stress has recently been laid. It will be remembered that the scene of the Ninth Similitude in Hermas is laid in Arcadia. For this Zahn proposed to read "Aricia," but Professor Rendel Harris pointed out in the *Journal of Biblical Exegesis* for January, 1887, that the description given corresponds closely to the view of the surrounding mountains from the plain of Orchomenos, with the hill of Orchomenos answering to the ὄρος μαστιῶδες in the midst. An opinion of this kind gains greatly when more than one person is struck by the same thing. Professor Rendel Harris appears to base his

¹ *Acta Johannis* (ed. Zahn, Erlangen, 1880), p. lii.

² Tixeront: *Origines de l'Église d'Édesse* (Paris, 1888), p. 145; Zahn, *Diat. Tatian's*, p. 882.

³ A more correct text is promised, though as an *editio princeps*, accompanied by a commentary, Gamurrini's is by no means without merit.

⁴ Gamurrini, pp. xxvii.-xxxii.

arguments on maps and descriptions, but Mr. Armitage Robinson, who has himself visited the spot, assures me that the coincidence is very marked. The inference which Mr. Harris draws is that Hermas has made use of Pausanias, or (as there is a difficulty about the date of Pausanias' *Arcadia*) of some other work similar to his. But would it not be a still simpler explanation to suppose that he was born and brought up under the shadow of these very mountains, and that the scene which he describes is drawn from the recollections of his youth? I am not aware that there is anything in the way of this supposition. We know that Hermas was sold as a slave to a Roman lady called Rhoda; but that is the point at which his recorded history begins. We are not told where he came from; and in the absence of such knowledge an indication like this may be followed.

The question is pertinent to the point from which we started. Mr. Cross seems to think that the author of the Fourth Gospel might have got his knowledge of Palestine from books, or at least from a prolonged visit. It was a rare thing in ancient times for a country to be described with so much fulness as Pausanias has given to the parts which he visited of Greece. Most of the works which do duty for geographies are little more than lists of names.¹ Palestine in particular has had scant measure dealt to it in the works which have come down to us. Pomponius Mela was a geographer of some note in the first century; and he mentions a single place, Gaza, about which he gives us the interesting information that the name is the Persian word for "treasure."² Ptolemy in the second century is

¹ For instance, of the ancient authorities of which Professor Ramsay makes use in his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor*, the *Synecdemus* of Hierocles, the *Notitiae Episcopatum*, the Antonine Itinerary and the Peutinger Table are all of this character.

² For a more probable derivation see Keller, *Lateinische Volksetymologie*, p. 249.

more scientific, and has given his name to a complete astronomical system. Yet he merely gives the boundaries of Palestine, and then a list of towns and cities, with a rough sort of latitude and longitude. In the whole of Galilee he only mentions four names: Sepphoris, Caparcotni (on the southern edge of the Plain of Esdraelon, opposite Nazareth), Julias (Bethsaida Julias), and Tiberias. In Samaria he only mentions two names, Neapolis (Sichem) and Thena. In Judæa he mentions twenty names, many along the Maritime Plain, but of these only one, Jerusalem, occurs in St. John. The reproduction of Ptolemy's view of the geography of Palestine, and the adjacent countries in Spruner-Menke's *Atlas* (p. 27) shows that he had a curious idea of its configuration. Strabo, the greatest of all the geographers of antiquity, gives a very poor account of Palestine. He knows something about the coast-line, but betrays his dependence on literary sources by speaking of Gaza as "deserted," although it had been refounded by Gabinus (57-55 B.C.).¹ He has then a brief and barely recognisable sketch of Jewish history, which becomes a little more definite as it approaches the taking of Jerusalem and other strongholds by Pompey. Then there is a sketch of the plain of Jericho. Then some account of the remarkable phenomena of the Dead Sea, which Strabo calls ἡ Σερβωνίς λίμνη, clearly confusing it with the real "Serbonian bog" near Mount Casius on the frontier of Egypt. Then he mentions another instance of water with curious properties in the district of Gadara. That is all. The Itineraries again furnish very little help.² The Peutinger Table, for instance, only gives the stations along the Roman roads, and appears to make the Hieromax

¹ Schürer, *Gesch. d. jüd. Volkes*, ii. 62.

² These Itineraries are based upon a survey begun under Julius Cæsar, and completed under Augustus, the results of which were represented upon a globe which was kept in the portico of Polla (Jung in Iwan Müller's *Handbuch*, iii. 469 f.).

(Jarmuk) fall, not into the Jordan, but directly into the Dead Sea. When we come to Christian times naturally rather more was done. Eusebius and Jerome both made a study of Biblical sites; but still the results only take the form of bare statistics of names and distances, often with etymologies giving the meaning of the names.¹ The stream of pilgrims to the Holy Places begins with the Bordeaux pilgrim in 333—unless we are to count Origen the first of the pilgrims.

But it will have been seen from this sketch how scanty were the materials which the author of the Fourth Gospel would have had to work upon if he had tried to prepare himself for his task by literary studies. It is not as if it were likely that he had access to other and fuller authorities which have perished. Those which have survived enable us to take the measure of those which have not survived. And that by the help of either class, or indeed of any form of literary description current in antiquity, he could have hit upon the topographical allusions in the Gospel, is simply impossible. Think for a moment what these are: First, we have Bethany beyond Jordan, not mentioned by any other writer, but guaranteed by its precise distinction from the other Bethany, which is identified by its distance (15 stades) from Jerusalem. Then we have Cana of Galilee, also not mentioned, unless—what is not certain—this is the same with a village three times named by Josephus.² Here however again the sure hand of the author appears, because he alone gives the distinguishing epithet “of Galilee,” and Josephus mentions another Cana in Judæa.³ The modern explorer has two sites in Galilee which bear the name of Cana to choose between. Aenon, M. Renan calls “un trait de lumière”:

¹ See especially Lagarde, *Onomastica Sacra*, 2nd ed. Göttingen, 1887.

² *Vit.*, 16; *Ant.*, xiii. 15, 1; *B. J.*, i. 17, 5.

³ *B. J.*, i. 4, 7.

it simply represents the Aramaic for "springs." It is placed by Jerome eight Roman miles from Scythopolis near to Salim which he takes as known.¹ Sychar is not quite so certain, but it is now generally identified with the modern village of Askar. The details of Jacob's well with Gerizim rising above it, are exactly given as they may be seen to this day.² Readers of the *Palestine Exploration Fund Reports* will know the claim that has recently been made for the rediscovery of the Pool of Bethesda ("Bethsaida," or still more probably "Bezetha," as the name is read in some MSS.), with substantial remains even of the five colonnades. The identification may not be certain—though the presence of such remains tallying with the description and exactly in the quarter where we should expect to find them, must count for something; but in any case, the very precise statement (including the "Sheep-gate"), must be set down to the credit of the writer. The city of Ephraim readily identified with Ophrah of the Old Testament, and probably with the modern *et-Taiyibeh*; the "treasury" and Solomon's porch in the Temple; Gabbatha, Golgotha, the Kedron ravine, taken together, if not taken singly, were far too minute and precise to have come from literary sources.

But then, Mr. Cross urges, the author of the Gospel though not a Jew, may have settled for a length of time in Palestine, as Origen did and Jerome. True, he may have so settled. But it must have been for a long time; and he must have moved about considerably from place to place to lay his finger with so much accuracy on spots so far apart as Cana and Bethany, Aenon, and the Kedron ravine.

However this may be, Mr. Cross still urges, and however the fact is to be explained, the Fourth Gospel need

¹ Lagarde, *Onomast.*, p. 131.

² See especially Lightfoot, *EXPOSITOR*, 1890, i. 176-9.

not have been written by a Palestinian Jew in the first century, because there are examples of works, neither genuine nor contemporary, which yet are distinguished by precise topographical details. Such an example he finds in the Apocryphal Gospel of Matthew, which it may therefore be interesting to test somewhat fully. The case would certainly be a strong one, if it should be found to hold good, as Lipsius assigns the work in question to the second half of the fifth century. I should imagine that this is not far wrong. To avoid repetition in the next section of our inquiry, we may take at once the indications which bear upon the date of the so-called Gospel and upon its place of origin. The text of the Gospel exists only in Latin, and is published by Tischendorf in his *Evangelia Apocrypha*, pp. 51-112 (ed. 2, 1876). We have also facilities for comparing the Pseudo-Matthæan legend with an older version in the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, which precedes it in Tischendorf's collection.

In cap. i. we are told how Joachim lived the life of a pious shepherd, showing his devotion by his liberality towards those who ministered in sacred things, *duplicia offerens munera in timore Dei et doctrina laborantibus et simplicia offerens his qui ministrabant eis*. Indeed, he divided the produce of his flocks and all that he had into three parts, and gave one part to the widows, orphans, strangers and poor, one part to the priests (*colentibus Deum*), while he only reserved the remaining third to himself and his house. The stress which is laid on gifts to the priests (or clergy) points to a late date. For the single and double gifts to the different orders of the ministry I have not found a parallel. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 29), firstfruits of certain specified things are to go to the priests, tithes and some other firstfruits to the widows and orphans. The common rule for the distribution of tithes was that they should be divided into four parts,

not always applied in quite the same way. But besides the quadripartite division, there was also a tripartite. The earliest example of this quoted by Dr. Hatch in his *Growth of Church Institutions* (p. 112) is dated 801. Here the division applies to tithe, in Pseudo-Matthew to all produce. No doubt an exceptional degree of virtue is intended; still the idea of threefold division had apparently defined itself when the author wrote. The *Protevangelium* simply says that Joachim doubled his gifts (προσέφερε τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ διπλᾶ, i. 1).

In cap. ii. Joachim goes up among those "who offered incense to the Lord." The offering of incense belonged specially to the priests; but Joachim we are told was of the family of David. He is repelled from sacrificing by the *scriba templi*, an official, I believe, not otherwise heard of. The "scribes" (γραμματεῖς) are mentioned in the *Protevangelium*, but not in this connexion.

Meantime Anna is promised the birth of a daughter, and goes to meet her husband at the "golden gate." The epithet is an addition to the *Protevangelium* (iv. 4), and not a very happy one. The designation "golden gate" does not, I believe, occur before Justinian (if indeed then), and the present structure probably dates from that period.¹ It led out of the Kedron ravine through the east wall into the temple area—hardly a natural place for Anna to meet her husband. The part of the wall in which it was situated appears to have been in ruins at the time of Paula's visit (*circa* 383, A.D.), and the *porta speciosa* of Antoninus was still ruined in his time (*circa* 570 A.D.).²

¹ See Prof. Hayter Lewis, *Holy Places of Jerusalem*, p. 96 (cf. p. 92). The Bordeaux pilgrim speaks of a gate, and Antoninus of a gate which he calls *porta speciosa*.

² Sir C. Wilson thinks that this may have been the present "golden gate" (*Pal. Pilg. Texts*, No. 1, pp. 14, 15); but are not the domes against this? The date assigned to Antoninus on the title-page of *P. P. T.* is a misprint (cf. p. v., and *Antonini Placentini Itinerarium*, ed. Gildemeister, p. xvii.),

Mary is born, and while yet an infant is presented to the Lord in *contubernium virginum quas die noctuque in Dei laudibus permanebant*. Elsewhere (cap. viii.) we are told that from the time of Solomon onwards there had always been in the temple "daughters of kings who were virgins, and of prophets, and of chief priests and priests." Mary takes her place among the "senior virgins," and apports out her own day from dawn to the third hour, from the third hour to the ninth (cap. vi.). Clearly all this group of ideas is taken from the convents and the convent schools which were not fully organized before the fifth century. The *Protevangelium* speaks only of the presentation of the Virgin without these embellishments.

At last (in cap. iv.) we come to what seems an accurate local touch. On her presentation in the temple Mary, though quite an infant, runs up "the fifteen steps" without looking back for her parents. It is true that there was a well-known flight of "fifteen steps" in the Temple on which the "Psalms of Degrees" are traditionally said to have been recited by the Levites.¹ It is however unfortunate for Pseudo-Matthew (1) that these steps led, not into the court of the women (which was entered by a flight of *twelve* steps, not fifteen), but from that of the women into the court of Israel; and (2) that the steps are not placed by him within the Temple at all, but outside it (*ante Templum* in some MSS., which Tischendorf favours; *ante foras Templi* in others). Still in spite of these errors the mention of "fifteen steps" may attract some notice. The "steps of the Temple" early gained and long maintained a place in Christian history or legend. It was on them that according to one version St. James met his death. There was an Ebionite *Apocryphon* called the *Ἀναβαθμοί*

¹ Neubauer in *Stud. Bibl.*, ii. 56. The *Protev.* describes how the child was set on the "third step of the altar"—a different matter.

Ἰακώβου,¹ with which it is natural to compare the title of Psalms cxix. (LXX.) to cxxxiii., *ὅσα τῶν ἀναβαθμῶν*.

In cap. vii. there is a discussion on virginity which would have been much out of place in the Jewish Temple. Abel is said to have received "two crowns, the crown of oblation and the crown of virginity."

We now have the story of the espousal of Mary and Joseph, the Annunciation and Nativity, told largely in Biblical language, but with the cave as well as the manger. These features are also found in *Protevangelium*, which ends at this point. The descent into Egypt is more fully elaborated. Here it is that we get the allusions to the topography of other countries besides Palestine. The well-known miracles of the legend take place upon the way. The travellers have their journey preternaturally shortened, and arrive first at the district (?) of Hermopolis, where they enter a city called Sotinen (*devenērunt in finibus Hermopolis et in unam ex civitatibus Egypti quas Sotinen dicitur*). There does not seem to be any "district" or "nome" bearing the name Hermopolis: there are however two cities of that name, neither of which seems to suit the conditions which appear to require a place on the main route from Palestine. Hermopolis Magna is far up the Nile, about mid-way between Memphis and Thebes; and Hermopolis Parva (the modern *Damanhur*) is not far from Alexandria.² Heroopolis might have been rather nearer the mark, as there is a city and nome so-called on the road to Palestine. There is however no variant in the MSS. of Pseudo-Matthew. The nearest approach I can find to "Sotinen" is a city of the Delta called in the Coptic documents PSENETAI, and said to be repre-

¹ Epiph., *Haer.*, xxx. 16; Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.*, ii. 2, 245; Salmon in *Dict. of Chr. Biog.*, i. 568.

² Dümichen conjectures the possible existence of another Hermopolis in the 15th Nome, not far from the Phatnitic arm of the Nile (*Geographie des alten Aegyptens*, p. 261).

sented on the maps as "Schenit, El-Seneta and Seneda." Whether this has anything to do with Sotinen I should not like to say; but at any rate it is in quite a different nome (the 11th) from either Hermopolis or Heroopolis. The Nile would have to be crossed to reach it, and it is not near either the road to Palestine or the "mountains" which had just been described as coming in sight.

At Sotinen there is a temple, *quod capitolium Egypti vocabatur*. In this temple there are 365 idols, which on the entrance of Mother and Child fall to the ground and are broken in pieces. Affrodisius, *dux civitatis illius*, arrives "with all his army" to take vengeance for the sacrilege, but instead falls down and worships. The title *dux civitatis* does not belong at all to the first century. It does not seem to have been until the time of Constantine that *dux* was used of any of the smaller units in the army or of local garrisons, and then it ranks above the "chiliarch."¹ In Egypt the *strategi* were officers of the nome, and only had under their orders a few police.² The Egyptians were not likely to call their temple the "Capitol of Egypt." It is true that the term is used of any large and splendid temple,³ but of course only in the West. The pantheon of gods with their rotating days of honour needs verification; but in any case it does not agree either with Hermopolis, which was dedicated specially to the god Thoth, or with Senetai, which was dedicated specially to Horus.⁴

The narratives of the pilgrims to the Holy Places supply a further means of obtaining at least a *terminus a quo* for the date of the apocryphal Gospel. Of the five pilgrims before the Arab invasion of whom accounts have come down to us, three made a point of visiting Egypt, and a

¹ οὐ μόνον ἑκατοντάρχων καὶ χιλιάρχων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν λεγομένων δουκῶν οἱ στρατηγῶν ἐν ἐκάστῳ τόπῳ τάξιν ἐπεῖχον (Zosimus, *Hist.* ii., 33).

² Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, i. 290.

³ See Georges *ad voc.*

⁴ Dümichen, *ut sup.*, pp. 261, 254.

fourth (Theodosius) has a note on Memphis which may be derived from personal knowledge. The two earliest, Paula, whose movements are described by Jerome, and Silvia of Aquitaine, evidently had a double interest. They visited the sites connected with Israel in Egypt and the Exodus, and they were also interested in monasteries and monasticism. But of the legend which surrounds the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt there is not the slightest trace. The first and only indication of this is in Antoninus of Placentia (c. 570, A.D.), of whom it is said that at Memphis he saw the door (*regia*, i.e. "main door") of a church, formerly a temple, which had shut itself to against the infant Christ, and could never afterwards be opened. Not even in Antoninus is there any allusion to "Sotinen" and "Hermopolis." We may however suspect that these names are more or less distorted versions of the reports brought back by pilgrims.

In any case, I do not think it can be said that the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew supplies a substantial argument against the inferences which have been drawn from local knowledge.

Going back then to the Gospel of St. John, we are left, with two alternatives. Either the author of the Gospel was a Jew born and bred in Palestine, or he must at least have made so long a stay there, and have so gone about from place to place as to have become intimately acquainted with a great part of the country and able to handle local names with sureness and ease. In order to decide between these alternatives we must have recourse to other criteria. We must endeavour to enter into the mind of the author and see from what point of view he looked out upon things, whether from that of one who was from the first wholly a Jew, or from that of one in whom Jewish ideas were mingled with ideas foreign to Judaism.

Let us take our first test under this head from the use of the Old Testament.

In my book of twenty years ago I used an expression which was rather too strong about this. Assuming that St. John in two places gave a version of his own directly from the Hebrew, without regard to the LXX., I spoke of this as "convincing." Mr. Cross demurs:¹ and in view of some new light which has been thrown upon quotations from the Old Testament on the New and in early writers, I accept the correction, though I still think that the argument has some not inconsiderable weight.

Bishop Lightfoot,² with his usual lucidity and force of reasoning, pressed home three passages as showing a direct influence of the Hebrew.

St. John xix. 37 (=Zech. xii. 10), "They shall look on Him whom they pierced."

St. John xii. 40 (=Isa. vi. 10), "Because that Esaias said again, He hath blinded their eyes," etc.

St. John xiii. 18 (=Ps. xli. 9 Heb.; xl. 10, LXX.), "He that eateth bread with Me hath lifted up his heel against Me."

It is well known that in the first of these passages the Septuagint has not "whom they pierced," but "because they insulted." The first of these two versions was correct as a rendering of the Hebrew—at least of our present Hebrew. Mr. Cross however challenged the inference that St. John made a new version for himself. He pointed to the fact that "whom they pierced" is found not only in the Gospel but also in the Apocalypse, in Justin Martyr, in some MSS. of the Septuagint, and in the three versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion; and he argued that the author of the Fourth Gospel did not translate for himself, but adopted another version current at the time.

Dr. T. K. Abbott replied to this,³ that Aq., Symm., Theod., MSS. of LXX. might be reduced practically to Aquila, from

¹ *Class. Rev.*, 1890, p. 453 f., also 1891, p. 142 f.

² *EXPOSITOR*, 1890, pp. 19-21. It should be remembered however that the Essay, though printed at this date, was written in 1871.

³ *Ibid.*, Feb., 1891, p. 11 f.

whom all the other renderings or readings were derived. The same article contained some criticism of Dr. Hatch, who had adopted a view similar to that of Mr. Cross.

The state of the case in regard to divergent quotations from the Old Testament is this.

Generally speaking, it may be said that up to the year 1884 the assumption had been made that where an author quoted from the Old Testament in a form more nearly resembling the Hebrew than the Septuagint he had either himself translated directly from the Hebrew or followed some other writer who had so translated. But from that year onwards, starting from a small beginning but with a wider accession of facts as it proceeded, the conviction has been growing that there were current as far back as the period of the New Testament itself, at least for certain books, other Greek versions than those which go under the name of the Septuagint and in some cases more nearly representing the Hebrew.

The impulse was given by two observations of Professor Rendel Harris and Dr. Hort.¹ Professor Rendel Harris noticed that a passage in the Shepherd of Hermas was really based upon the Greek of Daniel, but upon the Greek in a peculiar form. Dr. Hort thereupon pointed out that the form in question implied the version of Theodotion, not the text which properly bore the name of Septuagint. Hitherto it had been supposed that Theodotion's version was at least some forty years later than Hermas, but doubt was at once thrown on this. It happened that Dr. Salmon had a special interest in the date of Hermas, as he maintained a view which, though no doubt defensible, is as yet held by a minority of scholars. At his instance Dr. Gwynn worked out yet further the traces of a version similar to Theodotion's, but before Theodotion, with the result that it has been made highly probable that the name of that editor has

¹ *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, 1884, Apr. and Dec.

been given to a version not only current but largely preferred to the Septuagint version before his day.

Dr. Hatch, in his *Essays in Biblical Greek*, published in 1889, maintained not exactly this theory but another which somewhat resembled it, viz., that many of the quotations in early Christian writers were taken not directly from the Books of the Old Testament quoted but from collections of extracts or short manuals compiled from the Old Testament by the Jews. This too is a possibility that has something in its favour and that must be distinctly contemplated, though it is not the only hypothesis which will explain the facts.

As a consequence of these investigations, the old simple inference has at least lost its stringency. It is no longer certain that a writer who agrees more nearly with the Hebrew than the Septuagint is himself translating from the Hebrew. He may be using a different version or he may be using a collection of extracts.

What are we to say to the particular instances adduced by Dr. Lightfoot and by others who have dealt with the Introduction to the Fourth Gospel? As between Dr. T. K. Abbott and Mr. Cross, it seems to me that Dr. Abbott has certainly reduced considerably the apparent body of evidence for the existence of a version of Zechariah xii. 10 distinct from that of the LXX. It now stands as Gosp. Apoc. Just.-Mart. Aq. If the Fourth Gospel and the Apocalypse are both by the same hand, or at least closely connected, and if, as is possible, the form of the quotation in Justin is influenced by these writings, then the evidence would be reduced still further, it would in fact consist of only two items, *Script. Joan.* and *Aquila*; and between these two, for reasons which Dr. Abbott has urged, the coincidence of rendering might be accidental. Still each of these steps involves a certain amount of assumption; and on the other hand the existence of a version not identical with the LXX.

seems to be sufficiently proved; so that on the whole, if this passage had stood alone, I should have been inclined to side with Mr. Cross, and to think that the use of such a version was the easier hypothesis of the two.

But it must be remembered that there are two other passages in regard to which the balance of probability seems to be different. In xiii. 18 (= Ps. xli. 9, "lifted up his heel") the Fourth Gospel stands alone: Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion are all extant, and agree more with the LXX. than with the Gospel.

ST. JOHN: ἐπήρην ἐπ' ἐμέ τὴν πτέρναν αὐτοῦ.

LXX.: ἐμεγάλυνεν ἐπ' ἐμέ πτερνισμόν.

AQ., THEOD.: κατεμεγαλύνθη μου πτέρνα.

SYMM.: κατεμεγαλύνθη μου ἀκολουθῶν.

Here the Johannine rendering is quite isolated, and looks as if it were affected either by the original text or by a Targumic paraphrase.

There is a like isolation in xii. 40 (= Isa. vi. 10). This verse is quoted in two other places in the New Testament (Matt. xiii. 15 and Acts xxviii. 27), in both closely with the LXX.; and Symmachus, who alone is extant, is nearer to the LXX. than to St. John and the Hebrew.

There is some difficulty in supposing that in these two instances an alternative version had reached the writer of the Fourth Gospel and had not reached any of the companions which he had with him in the quotation from Zechariah. So that, on the whole, and with some hesitation, I lean to the old view that the Gospel does show signs of the influence of the original either directly or indirectly through an Aramaic paraphrase.

I lean to this view the more readily because it only falls in with a conclusion arrived at in other ways. Whether or not in the outer circumference of his mind the writer of the Gospel had imbibed ideas derived from Alexandrian Hellen-

ism must for the present be left an open question, but in any case at its centre he was essentially a Jew. The argument from style and diction I do not propose to discuss. It will be found excellently stated by Bishop Lightfoot¹ and by Dr. Westcott;² I may add also by Keim in the passage referred to above.³ But the question of modes of thought is perhaps more debateable, and to that I hope to return in the next paper.

W. SANDAY.

NOTE.—The last of these papers brought me two letters from Dr. Hort, which are of great value to me personally, and require a word of notice.

In the first place, I hasten to disclaim a construction which I fear might have been placed upon my words. In saying that Dr. Hort had urged all that could possibly be urged against the words *τὸ πάσχα* in St. John vi. 4, I did not mean to imply that this was done with any harmonistic object. The paragraph in which I spoke of the effect of the omission upon the harmony of the Gospels was not meant to be connected logically with the paragraph which went before, though I can see that it might be taken as so connected. There is no writer, English or foreign, who is so entirely above suspicion of being influenced by any such object; and to suggest otherwise was far indeed from my mind.

I was well aware that I was myself more open to the charge of "Harmonistik," from the attempt which I made to reconcile the Synoptic and Johannine narratives on the day of the Crucifixion. I could not plead guilty to the charge, because I was only dealing with the Gospel narratives precisely as I should have dealt with any two other historical authorities under similar circumstances. I also, as I hope, succeeded in making it understood that the reconciliation which I put forward—not as my own, but on the lines of Edersheim, Nösgen, and others—was put forward most tentatively, and subject to the validity of certain premises which, as neither Hebraist nor Talmudist, I did not feel competent to criticise personally.

Dr. Hort has been so good as to give me his opinion on these premises. On every one he goes behind the data on which I was relying, with the result that as a whole I no longer regard the explanation offered as tenable. I can only fall back on the views which I expressed twenty years ago, with just this reservation, that because the two accounts are not reconciled I do not think it follows that they are not reconcilable. I venture to quote the sentences in which Dr. Hort states his conclusion.

"I feel sure," he says, "that St. John meant to place the Crucifixion on Nisan 14, and that he may safely be trusted here, more especially as this chronology is supported by often-noticed details in the Synoptic accounts. But

¹ EXPOSITOR, 1890, pp. 15-19.

² *Comm.*, pp. 50-52.

³ p. 162. See also Bleek-Mangold, p. 363: the only dissentient among recent writers appears to be Scholten.

I am by no means so confident as to the interpretation of the Synoptic chronology. The most obvious, and perhaps the most probable, view is that St. John is tacitly but deliberately correcting an error of the Synoptists. But the greatness of the supposed error is very perplexing if any of the Twelve had any part in the redaction of any one of the three Gospels. . . . I think there is real force in what Westcott urges (*Introd.*, p. 344) against treating the Synoptic language as due to mere blunder or fiction, though I cannot be as hopeful as he seems to be that fuller knowledge would justify it in all particulars."

I would gladly express my adhesion to this judgment, with perhaps some emphasis on the point contended for by Dr. Westcott. It was really this (*e.g.* a verse like St. Luke xxii. 15, "With desire have I desired," etc.) which put me upon attempting the reconciliation which I now believe to have failed.

Another correspondent reminds me that in pointing out the parallels between the Synoptic sayings in Matthew xi. 27, Luke x. 22, and St. John, I should have bracketed the prepositions in [παρ]εδόθη, [ἐν]γινώσκει, as St. John (like St. Luke in the case of γινώσκει) uses the simple and not the compound verbs, but there are a great number of parallels which are very close in sense (*e.g.* δοῦναι ἐξουσίαν, John i. 12, v. 27, xvii. 2; δοῦναι ἐν τῇ χειρὶ, iii. 35; εἰς τὰς χεῖρας, xiii. 3; also iii. 27, v. 22, 36, vi. 37, 39, etc.; and for γινώσκειν especially John x. 14, 15, xiv. 7, 9, 17, xvi. 3, xvii. 25, etc.). That this was not more fully verified before was due to an accident which I need not explain at length.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.

III. ST. PETER.

WE shall now consider the teaching of the Book of Acts and of the Epistles of Peter.

The discourses preserved in the Book of Acts, while frequently mentioning the death of Christ, do not say much about its spiritual significance. The Apostles were more eager to proclaim that the Crucified had come forth living from the grave than to expound a recondite doctrine, which can be appreciated only by those who have already put faith in Him. We have however, in St. Peter's inaugural address on the Day of Pentecost and in an address by St. Paul, two important passages bearing most closely on the subject before us. These now demand attention.

In Acts ii. 23 Peter is recorded to have said, in reference to Christ, "whom, being delivered up by the determinate

counsel and foreknowledge of God, ye by the hand of lawless men did crucify and slay." He thus asserts that the death of Christ was no mere calamity, but was an accomplishment of a divine purpose. In other words, he says that God foresaw that, if He sent His Son into the world to proclaim salvation for all who believe in Him, the Jews would give Him up to the Roman power to be put to death; and that, foreseeing this, God sent Him into the world in order that by His death He might accomplish a definite purpose. This implies that the death of Christ was a definite part of God's purpose of salvation; in complete harmony with His assertion in Matthew xvi. 21 that He must needs go away to Jerusalem to be put to death, with that in chapter xx. 28 that He came to give His life a ransom for many, and with all the passages quoted in my first and second papers.

In Acts xx. 28, in an address at Miletus to the elders of the Church at Ephesus, Paul is recorded to have said, "shepherd the Church of God (or, of the Lord) which He hath acquired (R.V. margin) for Himself with His own blood." Whatever be the correct reading, the blood here mentioned can only be that of Christ. The meaning of the verb *περιποιήσατο* may be studied in 1 Timothy iii. 13, "they who have discharged well the office of a deacon acquire for themselves a good degree"; in Isaiah lxiii. 21, LXX., "a people of My own, whom I have acquired for Myself that they may set forth My praises"; in 1 Maccabees vi. 44, "He gave Himself to save His people, and to acquire for Himself a name and power." The middle voice in all the above passages except the last, which has a still stronger form, indicates that those whom Christ acquired were henceforth to stand in special relation to Himself as His own possession. St. Paul asserts plainly that the death of Christ was the instrument which He used to save men and to bring them into His Church, and thus to unite

them to Himself. All this implies that the death of Christ was an essential link in the chain of man's salvation. Thus these recorded words of Paul are in complete harmony with the teaching of Christ already expounded.

It is worthy of note that the Epistle of James, which does not clearly announce salvation through faith, does not mention the death of Christ. This silence is full of instruction as suggesting a relation between these two doctrines. We shall find at a later stage of our inquiry that the salvation of sinners through faith becomes possible only by the death of Christ for the world's sin.

We come now to a document accepted with perfect confidence by all early Christian writers as written by the most conspicuous of those who were called to be Apostles during the lifetime of Christ, viz., the First Epistle of Peter.

In 1 Peter i. 18, 19 we read, "Knowing that, not with perishable things, with silver or gold, ye were ransomed from your useless manner of life handed down from your fathers, but with precious blood as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even that of Christ." The word which I have rendered *ransom* is found also in Luke xxiv. 21, in Deuteronomy vii. 8 (LXX.), and in other passages quoted in my first paper. And it is cognate to the word used in the important assertion of Christ preserved in Matthew xx. 28. The word denotes, as we saw in my exposition of this last passage, always liberation, and usually liberation by price paid. In 1 Peter i. 18, 19, now before us, the ideas of liberation and price are very conspicuous. The Apostle reminds his readers that they had been set free from a way of living, without aim and without result, which they had accepted from their fathers, who themselves had lived this useless life. This description of their former life is unhappily true of the mass of mankind in all ages. They toil, but without worthy result. And the word *ransom* implies that this mode of life was a bond-

age from which they could not save themselves. But the Apostle says that deliverance has been effected, and that it has been costly. Its price has been, not silver or even gold, but precious blood, blood in some respects like that of the animals slain in sacrifice, but more costly, viz., the blood of Christ. The writer thus re-echoes and expounds the words of Christ in Matthew xx. 28, words which possibly he may have heard from the Master's own lips.

Manifestly the passage before us means that the bloody death of Christ upon the cross was the costly means by which the servants of Christ have been rescued from bondage to an inherited and useless way of life. The costliness of the means of deliverance implies that man's liberation was not otherwise possible. In other words, it implies, in harmony with the plain teaching of each of the four Gospels, the absolute necessity of the death of Christ for the salvation of men.

In 1 Peter ii. 21 we read that "Christ suffered on your behalf": *ἐπαθεν ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν*. And the mention in verse 24 of "His body on the wood" teaches clearly that the suffering referred to is His death on the cross. The preposition *ὑπὲρ* with the genitive conveys simply the idea of benefit, without stating what the benefit is. It is used in reference to the death of Christ in Mark xiv. 24, Luke xxii. 19, 20, John vi. 51, x. 11, 15, xi. 50, 51, 52, xv. 13, already expounded. As conveying simply the idea of benefit, *ὑπὲρ* differs from *ἀντὶ*, which is used in Matthew xx. 28, "to give His life a ransom instead of many," and which conveys the idea of substitution, of one thing put *instead of* another. This being the difference between them, either preposition may be used to describe the relation of the death of Christ to those for whom He died. But each conveys its own significance, and that only. Christ died on our behalf, *i.e.*, for our benefit; He died in our stead; for, had He not died, we must,

In the verse now before us, the writer asserts that Christ suffered death upon the cross for our benefit. What the benefit is, and wherein lay the need for this mysterious and costly mode of doing us good, we learn from the verses following. In verse 22 we read that Christ was Himself sinless; and in verse 24 that He "bore our sins in His body on the wood." This implies that the awful sufferings endured in the sacred body nailed to the timber of the cross on Golgotha were a consequence of "our sins." The aim of these sufferings, or in other words the benefit to be thereby obtained for us, is at once stated, viz., "in order that, having been removed from our sins, we may live for righteousness." We have here another plain assertion that Christ died with a definite aim, viz., in order that we may escape from the penalty and bondage resulting from our past sins, and may live a new and righteous life. The actual result of the death of Christ is then added: "by whose wound ye have been healed."

In close agreement with the above, we read in 1 Peter iii. 18, that "Christ suffered once for sins, a just man on behalf of unjust men, in order that He may lead us to God, put to death in flesh, but made alive in spirit," etc. These last words prove that the Apostle again refers to Christ's suffering on the cross. We are told expressly that His death was occasioned by the sins of men, that it was endured with a definite aim, viz., "in order to lead us to God."

In the light of this passage we may expound 1 Peter iv. 1, "since Christ hath suffered in flesh, arm yourselves with the same mind"; and verse 13, "ye are sharers of the sufferings of Christ." For, as we read in chapter ii. 21, Christ is our pattern even in His suffering of death; and they who share the loyalty to God and the love to man which prompted Him to lay down His life in order to save men are sharers of His sufferings and will be sharers of His glory and joy.

It is now evident that the teaching of the four Gospels about the significance and aim of the death of Christ is reproduced, and with still greater clearness and fulness, in an epistle written probably by one of the most intimate associates of His life on earth. That His death is spoken of as the costly price of man's salvation, implies its absolute necessity for this end. This necessity is traced to man's sin. And we are told that He died with a definite aim, viz., to bring men into right relation to God, and to enable them to live a righteous life.

The evidence for the genuineness of the Second Epistle which claims to be from the Apostle Peter is far less satisfactory than that for the First Epistle. But, whatever be its authorship, it is an embodiment of early Christian thought. And I notice in passing that in 2 Peter ii. 1 we read of some who "deny the Master who bought them." We have here again the idea of purchase already found in the first two Gospels and in the First Epistle of Peter. And we are told that Christ died even for some who will ultimately perish, for the persons referred to are "bringing upon themselves quick destruction."

We have now examined briefly the four Gospels, the Book of Acts, and the Epistles of Peter, documents differing very widely both in phraseology and modes of thought. And we have found everywhere the same account of the occasion and aim of the death of Christ. From various points of view, all these documents represent it as the means of man's salvation, and as absolutely needful for this end. The need for this costly means of salvation, they find in man's sin. And they teach that He died, not by accident, but by His own free choice, and with a deliberate purpose of thus working out for men a salvation otherwise impossible.

It is also worthy of note, that in the ritual of the Old Covenant, the shedding of innocent blood is a conspicuous

feature; and that sometimes the language of the New Testament about the death of Christ is coloured by sacrificial associations. As examples, I may quote John i. 29, 1 John ii. 2 taken in connection with chapter i. 7, 1 Peter i. 19, ii. 24, iii. 18. On the other hand, salvation by means of the death of the innocent is almost or altogether absent from the spiritual thought and life which find expression in the Book of Psalms.

Why it was needful that, in order to save men from the due consequences of their own sins, Christ should die, the documents we have examined do not teach. They thus prompt a question more pressing and difficult than those which they answer. For an answer to this question we shall turn to the teaching of one who, so far as we can judge, understood the mystery of the agony upon the cross much better than did the disciples who were with Christ in the garden, better even than did the beloved Apostles who saw Him on the cross. In our next paper I shall endeavour to expound the all-important teaching of the Epistle to the Romans.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND.

II.

THE LOW HILLS OR SHEPHELAH.

OVER the Philistine Plain, as you come up from the coast, you see a sloping moorland break into scalps and ridges of rock, and over these a loose gathering of chalk and limestone hills, round, bare and featureless, but with an occasional bastion flung out in front of them. This is the so-called Shephelah—a famous theatre of the history of Palestine—the debatable ground between Israel and the Philistines,

between the Maccabees and the Syrians, between Saladin and the Crusaders.

The name Shephelah means *low* or *lowland*.¹ The Septuagint mostly render it by *plain*,² and even in very recent works, such as Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, it has been applied to the Plain of Philistia. But the towns assigned by the O. T. to the Shephelah are all of them situated in the low hills and not on the plain;³ in the first Book of the Maccabees, too, I notice that the town of Adida is described in one passage as being in the Shephelah and in another as over against the plain;⁴ and in the Talmud the Shephelah is expressly distinguished from the plain,⁵ Lydda, being marked as the point of division. We conclude, therefore, that though the name may sometimes have been used to include the Maritime Plain,⁶ the Shephelah proper was the region of *low hills*, between that plain and the high Central Range. The Shephelah would thus be equivalent to our "downs," low hills as distinguished from high, did it not also include the great amount of flat valley land, which is as characteristic of this broken region as the subdued elevation of its hills. The name has been more fitly compared

¹ A feminine form from the verb in the well-known passage *every mountain shall be made low*. It occurs with a like meaning in Arabic, and may possibly be the same root as we find in *Seville* (Gesenius, *Thesaurus*, *sub voce*).

² τὸ πεδῖον or ἡ πεδινή.

³ Josh. xv. 33; 2 Chron. xxviii. 18. Ajalon in its vale, and Gimzo to the west of it; Zorah, Eshtaol and Bethahemeah in the Vale of Sorek: Gederah to the north, and En-gannim, Zanoah, and Jarmuth within three miles to the south of Sorek: Adullam and Shocoh up the Vale of Elah (W. es Sunt): Tappuah in the W. el 'Afran; Marehah, Lachish, and Eglon to the south-west of Beit-Gibrin. The others given have not been properly identified. Vv. 45-47 of Joshua xv., which give Philistine towns in the Plain, are probably a later addition. Eusebius describes the Shephelah as all the low country (πεδινή) lying about Eleutheropolis (Beit-Gibrin) to the north and the west. It is about Beit-Gibrin that Clermont-Ganneau and Conder have re-discovered the name, in its Arabic form, Sifla (*Tent Work*, 277).

⁴ 1 Macc. xii. 38; xiii. 13. ἐν τῇ Σεφηλῇ κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ πεδίου.

⁵ Quoted by Conder, *Handbook*, p. 302. Tal., Jer., Shebiith, 9. 2.

⁶ As shown by Conder in his quotations, *Handbook*, 302: and perhaps by Eusebius (see note above).

to the Scottish "Lowlands," which also are not entirely plain, but have their ranges of hills.

How far north did the Shephelah run? I have spoken of this zone of the Holy Land, as if it were as continuous as the other four. And it is true that the range of low hills between the Maritime Plain and the high Central Range runs all the way north to Esdraelon. From the sea, low hills are seen buttressing the range behind them all the way along. Now the name Shephelah might be correctly applied to the whole length of these low hills:¹ but it does not appear ever to have extended north of Lydda and the Vale of Ajalon. All the towns mentioned in the O. T. as in the Shephelah are south of this; and if Major Conder's identification be correct of "Adida in the Shephelah"² with Haditheh, four miles E.N.E. of Lydda, then this is the most northerly instance of the name. Roughly speaking, the Shephelah meant the low hills south of Ajalon and not those north of Ajalon. Now, very remarkably, this distinction corresponds with a difference of a physical kind—in the relations of these two parts of the low hills to the Central Range. North of Ajalon the low hills which run out on Sharon are connected with the high mountains behind them. You ascend to the latter from Sharon either by long sloping ridges, such as that which to-day carries the telegraph-wire and the high road from Jaffa to Nablus; or else you climb up terraces, like the succession of ranges closely built upon one another, by which the country rises from Lydda to Bethel. But south of Ajalon the low hills do not so hang upon the Central Range, but are separated from the mountains of Judæa by a series of valleys, both wide and narrow, which run all the way from Ajalon to near Beersheba; and it is

¹ The Jerusalem Talmud (quoted by Conder, *Handbook*, p. 302) even applied the name to lower hills across the Jordan.

² 1. Macc. xii. 38: *καὶ Σίμων ὑποδόμησε τὴν Ἀδιδὰ ἐν τῇ Σεφηλᾷ*—evidently as a cover to the road from Joppa which he had won for the Jews.

only where the low hills are thus flung off the Central Range into an independent group, separating Judæa from Philistia, that the name Shephelah seems to have been applied to them.

This difference in the relation of the low hills to the Central Range, north and south of Ajalon, illustrates two important historical phenomena. *First*, it explains some of the difference between the histories of Samaria and Judah. While the northern low hills opposite Samaria are really only approaches, slopes and terraces of access to Samaria's centre, the southern low hills—those opposite Judah—offer no furtherance at all towards this more isolated province: to have conquered them is not to have got footing upon it. And *secondly*, this division between the Shephelah and Judah explains why the Shephelah has so much more interest and importance in history than the northern low hills, which are not so divided from Samaria. It is independent as they are not; and debatable as they cannot be. They are merged in Samaria. It has a history of its own, for they cannot be held by themselves, and it can be, and was, so held at frequent famous periods of war and invasion.

This division between the Shephelah and Judæa is of such importance in the history of the land that it will be useful for us to follow it in detail.

As we ride across the Maritime Plain from Jaffa towards the Vale of Ajalon by the main road to Jerusalem, we become aware, as the road bends south, of getting behind low hills, which gradually shut out the view of the coast. These are spurs of the Shephelah: we are at the back of it, and in front of us are the high hills of the Central Range, with the wide break in them of the Vale of Ajalon. Near the so-called half-way house, the road to Jerusalem enters a steep and narrow defile, the Wady Ali, which is the real entrance to the Central Range, for at its upper end we come out among peaks over 2,000 feet high. But if instead of entering

this steep defile we turn to the south crossing a broad low watershed, we shall find ourselves in the Wady el Ghurab, a valley running southwest, with hills to the east of us touching 2,000 feet, and hills to the west seldom above 800. The Wady el Ghurab brings us out upon the broad Wady es Surar, the Vale of Sorek, crossing which we find the mouth of the Wady en Nagil¹ and ride still south along its straight narrow bed. Here again the mountains to the east of us are over 2,000 feet, cleft by narrow and tortuous defiles, difficult ascents to the Judæan plateau above, while to the west the hills of the Shephelah seldom reach 1,000 feet and the valleys among them are broad and easy. They might stand—especially if we remember that they have respectively Jerusalem and Philistia behind them—for the narrow and broad ways of our Lord's parable. From the end of Wady en Nagil the passage is immediate to the Vale of Elah, the Wady es Sunt, at the spot where David slew Goliath, and from there the broad Wady es Sur runs south, separating by one or two miles the lofty and compact range of Judæa on the east from the lower, looser hills of the Shephelah on the west. The Wady es Sur terminates opposite Hebron:² and there the dividing hollow turns south-west, and runs between peaks of nearly 3,000 feet high to the east, and almost nothing above 1,500 to the west, into the Wady esh Sheria, which finds the sea south of Gaza and may be regarded as the southern boundary of the Shephelah. I have ridden nearly every mile of this great fosse, that has been planted along the ramparts of Judæa, and have described from my own observations the striking difference of its two sides. All down the east, let me repeat, runs that close and lofty barrier of the Central Range, penetrated only by difficult defiles, its edge turreted here and there by a town, giving proof of a tableland

¹ All g's are soft in the modern Arabic of Palestine.

² Near Terkumieh.

behind; but all down the west the low scattered ranges and clusters of the Shephelah, with their shallow dales and softer brows, much open ground and wide passes to the sea. Riding along the fosse between, I understood why the Shephelah was always debatable land, open equally to Israelite and Philistine, and why the Philistine, who so easily overran the Shephelah, seldom got further than its eastern border, on which many of his encounters with Israel took place.

From this definition of its boundaries—so necessary to the understanding of its independence alike of Plain and of Mountain—let us turn to a survey of the Shephelah itself.

The mountains look on the Shephelah, and the Shephelah looks on the sea,—across the Philistine Plain. It curves round this plain from Gaza to Jaffa like an amphitheatre.¹ But the amphitheatre is cut by three or four great gaps—wide valleys that come right through from the foot of the Judæan hills to the sea. Between these gaps the low hills gather in clumps and in short ranges from 500 to 800 feet high, with one or two summits up to 1,500. The formation is of limestone or chalk, and very soft—therefore irregular and almost featureless, with a few prominent outposts upon the plain. In the wide cross valleys there are perennial, or almost perennial, streams, with broad pebbly beds; the soil is alluvial and red, with great cornfields. But on the slopes and glens of each hilly maze between the cross valleys the soil is a grey white; there are no perennial streams, and few springs, but in their place reservoirs of rainwater. The cornfields straggle for want of level space, but the olive-groves are finer than on either the plain below or the range above. Inhabited villages are frequent; the ruins of abandoned ones more so. But the prevailing scenery of the region is of short, steep

¹ Trelawney Saunders, *Introd.*, p 249.

hillsides and narrow glens, with a very few great trees, and thickly covered by brushwood and oak-scrub—crags and scalps of limestone breaking through, and a rough grey torrent bed at the bottom of each glen. In the more open passes of the south, the straight line of a Roman road dominates the brushwood, or you will see the levelled walls of an early Christian convent, and perhaps the solitary gable of a Crusader's church. In the rocks there are older monuments—large wine and oil presses cut on level platforms above ridges that may formerly have been vineyards; and once or twice on a braeside a huge boulder has well-worn steps up it, and on its top little cup-like hollows, evidently an ancient altar. Caves, of course, abound—near the villages bare, blackened dens for men and cattle, but up the unfrequented glens hidden by hanging bush, behind which you disturb only the wild pigeon. Bees murmur everywhere, larks are singing; and although in the maze of hills you may wander for hours without meeting a man, or seeing a house, you are seldom out of sound of the human voice, shepherds and ploughmen calling to their cattle and to each other across the glens. Higher up you rise on to moorland, with rich green grass if there is a spring, but otherwise heath, thorns, and rough herbs that scent the wind. Bees abound here, too, and dragon-flies, kites and crows; and sometimes an eagle floats over from the cliffs of Judæa. The sun beats strong, but you see the sea, and feel its freshness; the high mountains are behind, every night they breathe upon these lower ridges cool, gentle breezes, and the dews are heavy.

Altogether it is a rough, happy land, with its glens and moors, its mingled brushwood and barleyfields; frequently under cultivation, but for the most part broken and thirsty, with few wells and many hiding-places; just the home for strong border-men like Samson, and just the theatre for that guerilla warfare, varied occasionally by pitched battles,

which Israel and Philistia, the Maccabees and Syrians, and Saladin and Richard waged with each other.

The chief encounters of these foes naturally took place in the wide valleys, which cut right through the Shephelah maze. The strategic importance of these valleys can hardly be over-rated, for they do not belong to the Shephelah alone. Each of them is continued by a defile into the very heart of Judæa, not far from an important city, and each of them has at its other end, on the coast, one of the five cities of the Philistines. To realise these valleys is to understand the wars that have been fought on the western watershed of Palestine from Joshua's time to Saladin's.

1. Take the most northerly of these valleys. The narrow plain, along which the present high road to Jerusalem runs, brings you up from Ramleh, to opposite the high Valley of Ajalon. The Valley of Ajalon, which is really part of the Shephelah,¹ is a broad fertile plain gently sloping up to the foot of the Central Range, the steep wall of which seems to forbid further passage. But three gorges break through, and, with sloping ridges between them run up past the two Bethhorons on to the plateau at Gibeon, a few flat miles north of Jerusalem. This has always been the easiest passage from the coast to the capital of Judæa. Throughout history we see hosts swarming up it, or swept down it in flight. At the high head of it invading Israel first emerged from the Jordan Valley, and looked over the Shephelah towards the Great Sea. Joshua drove the Canaanites down to Makkedah in the Shephelah on that day when such long work had to be done that he bade the sun stand still for its accomplishment;² down Ajalon the early men of Ephraim and Benjamin raided the Philistines;³ and by the same way, soon after his accession,

¹ Thus the town of Ajalon was in the Shephelah (2 Chron. xxviii. 18).

² Josh. x. 10. Makkedah is identified by Warren as el-Mughar to the south of Ekron, but this is very doubtful.

³ 1 Chron. vii. 21; viii. 18.

King David *smote the Philistines*—who had come up about Jerusalem either by this route or the gorges leading from the Vale of Sorek—*from Gibeon until thou come to Gezer*,¹ that looks right up Ajalon. Ages later this rout found a singular counterpart. In 66 A.D. a Roman army under Cestius Gallus came up from Antipatris—on the modern Aujeh, a few miles north-east of Jaffa—by way of Ajalon. When they entered the gorges of the Central Range, they suffered from the sudden attacks of the Jews; and although they actually set Jerusalem on fire and occupied part of it, they suddenly retreated by the way they had come. The Jews pursued, and as far as Antipatris itself smote the Romans in thousands, as David had smitten the Philistines. It may have been because of this that Titus, when he came up to punish the Jews two years later, avoided Ajalon and the gorges at its head, and took the higher and less covered road by Gophna to Gibeah.

But it was in the time of the Maccabean wars and in the time of the Crusades that this part of the Shephelah was most famously contested.

Ajalon was the natural opening into Judæa for the Syrian armies who came by the coast road from the north; and Modin, the home of the Maccabees and origin of the revolt against Syria, lies near the edge of Ajalon, by the very path the invaders took. The first camps on both sides were pitched about Emmaus, not far off the present high road to Jerusalem. The battles rolled—for the battles in the Shephelah were always rolling battles—between Beth-horon and Gezer, and twice the pursuit of the Syrians extended across the last ridges of the Shephelah to Jamnia and Ashdod.² Judas swept right down to Joppa, which his brother Simon gave the Jews as their first port. But the tide sometimes turned, and the Syrians, mastering the

¹ 2 Sam. v. 25; 1 Chron. xiv. 16.

² 1 Macc. iii., iv., ix.

Shephelah fortresses, surged up Ajalon to the walls of Jerusalem.

Now up and down this great channel thirteen centuries later the fortune of war ebbed and flowed in an almost precisely similar fashion. Like the Syrians—and indeed from the same centre of Antioch—the Crusaders took their way to Jerusalem by Tyre, Acre, and Joppa, and there turned up through the Shephelah and the Vale of Ajalon. The First Crusaders found no opposition; two days sufficed for their march from Ramleh to the Holy City. Through the Third Crusade, however, Saladin firmly held the Central Range, and though parties of Christians swept up within sight of Jerusalem, their camps never advanced beyond Ajalon. But all the Shephelah rang with the exploits of Richard. Fighting his way from Carmel along the foot of the low hills, infested as they were by an enemy that perpetually assailed his long and straggling flank, Richard first established himself at Joppa, and planting forts on the spurs of the Shephelah, pushed his front gradually through it by Ramleh to Emmaus, and thence to Betenoble in the Vale of Ajalon.¹ This cost him from August, 1191, to June, 1192. He was then within twelve miles of Jerusalem as the crow flies, and on a raid he actually saw the secluded city, but he retired. His funds were exhausted, and his followers quarrelsome. He feared, too, the summer waterlessness of Jerusalem, which had compelled Cestius Gallus to withdraw in the moment of victory. But, above all, Richard's retreat from the foot of the Central Range illustrates what I have already emphasised, that to have taken the Shephelah was really to

¹ Betenoble, described in Geoffrey de Vinsauf's *Itinerary of Richard I.* (Bk. IV. ch. 34) as "near the foot of the mountains," is philologically liker the modern Beit Nabála at the foot of the low hills, nearly four miles N.E. of Lydda than Beit Nuba up in Ajalon at the foot of the high hills. But other references to it in the *Itinerary*, though not conclusive (V. 49, VI. 9), imply that it was well inland from Ramleh.

be no nearer to Judæa. The Crusaders fell back through their castles in the Shephelah, Emmaus, Turon or Latrun, Arnaud, Forts des Plans and de Maen, Mirabel and Montgisart¹ upon the coast. Saladin rushed after them, took Joppa, and though Richard relieved it and the coast remained with the Crusaders for some years to come, all the Shephelah, with its castles and convents, passed from Christian possession.

We have won a much more vivid imagination of the far-off campaigns of Joshua and David by following the marches of Judas Maccabeus, the rout of the Roman legions, and the advance and retreat of Richard Lionheart, —the last especially described with so much detail. The natural lines, which all these armies had to follow, remained throughout the centuries the same; the same were the difficulties of climate, forage, and locomotion; so that the best commentaries on many chapters of the Old Testament are the Books of the Maccabees, the annals of Josephus, and the Chronicles of the Crusades. History never repeats itself without explaining its past.

One point in the Northern Shephelah, round which these tides of war have swept, deserves special notice—Gezer, or Gazer. It is one of the few remarkable bastions which the Shephelah flings out to the west—on a ridge running towards Ramleh, the most prominent object in view of the traveller from Jaffa towards Jerusalem. It is high and isolated, but fertile and well watered—a very strong post

¹ We owe so much to Captain Conder for his numerous and valuable identifications that it seems ungracious to question any of them. But I do not think he has made out his case for the Crusading ruins near Antipatris being the site of Mirabel. Is this not contradicted by the statement in G. de Vinsauf's *Itinerary* that the Turks whom Richard scattered at Emmaus fled to Mirabel, that is, if Antipatris be Mirabel, north-west and *towards* the plains which the Christians held. Of the two suggestions, Captain Conder makes for the site of Maen (*Syrian Stone-Lore*, p. 398), the second is, of course, the correct one. Both Plans and Maen lay east of Joppa, but not east of Ramleh. Vinsauf, *Itinerary of Richard I.*, Bk. IV, ch. 29.

and striking landmark. A royal city of the Canaanites under a king of its own, Hormah, Gezer was appointed as a boundary of the tribe of Joseph, but *the Israelites drove not out the Canaanites that dwelt at Gezer*,¹ and in their hands it remained till its conquest by Egypt, when Pharaoh gave it to Solomon with his daughter, and Solomon rebuilt it.² Judas Maccabeus was strategist enough to gird himself early to the capture of Gezer, and Simon fortified it to cover the way to the harbour of Joppa, and caused John his son, the captain of the host, to dwell there.³ It was virtually, therefore, the key of Judæa, at a time when Judæa's foes came down the coast from the north; and with Joppa it formed part of the Syrian demands upon the Jews.⁴ But this is by no means the last of it. M. Clermont-Ganneau, who a number of years ago discovered the site,⁵ has lately identified Gezer with the Mont Gisart of the Crusades.⁶ Mont Gisart was a castle and fief in the county of Joppa, with an abbey of St. Katharine of Mont Gisart, "whose prior was one of the five suffragans of the Bishop of Lydda." It was the scene, on 24th November, 1174, seventeen years before the Third Crusade, of a victory won by a small army from Jerusalem under the boy-king, the leper Baldwin IV., against a very much larger army under Saladin himself, and in 1192 Saladin encamped upon it during his negotiations for a truce with Richard.⁷

Shade of King Hormah, what hosts of men have fallen about that citadel of yours! On what camps and columns has it looked down through the centuries, since first you saw the strange Hebrews burst with the sunrise across the hills and chase your countrymen down Ajalon—that day when

¹ Josh. xvi. 3, 10.

² 1 Kings ix. 15–17.

³ 1 Macc. xiii. 56.

⁴ 1 Macc. xv. 25.

⁵ By finding upon it two stones evidently dated from the time of the Maccabees. See Pal. Expl. Fund Quarterly, 1875.

⁶ *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, Paris, 1888. pp. 351–392.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 359.

the victors felt the very sun conspiring with them to achieve the unexampled length of battle. Within sight of every Egyptian and every Assyrian invasion of the land, Gezer has also seen Alexander pass by and the legions of Rome in unusual flight, and the armies of the Cross struggle, waver and give way. If all could rise who have fallen around its base,—Ethiopians, Hebrews, Turanian soldiers of Sennacherib, Arabs, Turcomans, Greeks, Romans, Saxons—what a rehearsal of the Judgment Day it would be! Few of the travellers, who now rush across the plain, realise that the first conspicuous hill they pass in Palestine is also one of the most thickly haunted—even in that narrow land into which history has so crowded itself. But upon the ridge of Gezer no sign of all this remains except in the name Tell Gezer, and, in a sweet hollow to the north beside a fountain, where lie scattered the Christian stones of Deir Warda, the Convent of the Rose.

Up none of the other valleys of the Shephelah has history surged as up and down Ajalon and past Gezer, for none are so open to the north, nor present so easy a passage to Jerusalem.

2. The next Shephelah valley, however, the Wady Surar, or Vale of Sorek, has an importance of its own, and, remarkably enough, is to be the future road to Jerusalem. The new railway from Jaffa, instead of being carried up Ajalon, turns south at Ramleh by the pass through the low sandhills to Ekron, and thence runs up the Wady es Surar and its continuing defile through the Judæan range on to that plain south-east of Jerusalem, which probably represents the ancient Vale of Rephaim. It is the way the Philistines used to come up in the days of the Judges and of David; there is no shorter road into Judæa from Ekron, Jamnia and perhaps Ashdod.¹ Ashkelon would be better

¹ By the Wady es Surar Jerusalem is some twenty-eight miles from Ekron, thirty-two from Jamnia, thirty-eight from Ashdod, forty-five from Ashkelon.

reached—as it was by the Crusaders when they held Jerusalem—by way of the Wady es Sunt and Tell-es-Sâfiyeh.

Just before the Wady es Surar approaches the Judæan range, its great width is increased by the entrance of the Wady Ghurab. The broad basin they form was Samson's home. Zorah and Eshtaol remain, almost under their old names, on the north bank of the double Wady, with the Camp of Dan between them.¹ It is as fair a nursery for boyhood as you will find in all the land—a hillside facing south against the strong sunshine, with corn, grass, and olives, scattered boulders and winter brooks, the broad valley below with the pebbly stream and screens of oleanders, the south-west wind from the sea blowing over all. There *the child Samson grew up; and the Lord blessed him, and the Spirit of the Lord began to move him in the camp of Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol.* Across the Valley of Sorek, in full view, is Beth-shemesh, now "Ain Shems," House and Well of the Sun, with which name it is so natural to connect his own—Shimshon, "Sun-like." Over the low hills beyond is Timnah, where he found his first love and killed the young lion.² Further is the Philistine Plain, with its miles upon miles of corn, which, if as closely sown then as now, would require scarce three, let alone three hundred, foxes, with torches on their tails, to set it all afire. The Philistine cities are but a day's march away, by easy roads. And so from these fresh country braes to yonder plains and the highway of the great world,—from the pure home and the mother who talked with angels, and the vows of consecration, to the heathen cities, their harlots and their prisons,—we see at one sweep of the eye all the

¹ One would like to know what ancient town is represented by Artûf, a much more important site on the headland between the two Wadies.

² There are no lions now in Palestine, but they were in the Jordan Valley in the twelfth century A.D. (*Pilgrimage of the Abbot Daniel*, 1106, 1107). Leopards are still found in the neighbourhood—one was killed just before I was there—and jackals of course abound.

course in which this unregulated strength, tumbling and sporting at first with laughter like one of its native brooks, like them also ran to the flats and the mud, and being darkened and befouled, was used by men to turn their mills.¹

The plausible theory, that the story of Samson is a Sun-myth, edited for the sacred record by an orthodox Israelite, while it has at last reached the public who are interested in Old Testament criticism, is yielding among the few who fondly held it, and has never received any acceptance from the leading critics who have all been convinced more or less of the hero's historic reality.² None who study the story of Samson along with its geography, can fail to feel the reality that is in it. Unlike the exploits of the impersonations of the Solar Fire in Aryan and Semitic mythologies, those of Samson are confined to a very limited region. The attempt to interpret them all as phases and influences of the sun has broken down. To me it seems just as easy and just as foolish to read the story of this turbulent strength as the myth of a mountain-stream, at first exuberant and sparkling and sporting with its powers, but when it has left its native hills, mastered and darkened by men, and yet afterwards bursting its confinement and taking its revenge upon them. For it is rivers

¹ The other scenes of Samson's life have not been satisfactorily identified. Major Conder proposes for the rock of Etam and its *cleft* a peculiar cave at Beit Atab (*l* and *m* being interchangeable) on the Judæan plateau. But the cave at Beit Atab (I have visited the place) is too large to be described as only a *cleft*; and if Etam were so high up, the narrative would not have said, as it does (Judges xvi. 8), that Samson *went down to the rock of Etam*. Captain Conder also suggests for Ramath-Lehi and En-hakkore (Judges xv. 14 ff.) a place a little to the north of Zorah, Ayûn Abu Meharib, "fountains of the place of battles," sometimes called Ayun Kâra, "founts of a crier," where there is a chapel dedicated to Sheikh Nedhir, "the Nazarite chief," and higher up a ruin with the name 'Ism Allah, "possibly a corruption of Esma 'a Allah, 'God heard.'" All this is extremely interesting; but it looks too complete, as if we had in it not the impression of the original Samson, but the artistic grouping by some mediæval Christians of the scenes of the Samson story.

² Cf. Hitzig in his *History*; Ewald in his; Kuenen; and Budde, *Die Bücher Richter u. Samuel*, p. 133.

and not sunbeams that work mills and overthrow temples. But the idea of finding any nature myth in such a story is farfetched. As Hitzig emphasises, it is not a nature-force but a character that we have to deal with here, and, above all, the religious element in the story, so far from being a later flavour imparted to the original material, is the very life of the whole.¹

It was also about the head of Sorek that the campaign was fought in which the Philistines took the ark;² but where Eben-ezer and Aphek lay is not certain. From very early times the former has been identified with the present Deir-Aban, which overlooks the defiles from Judæa into the head of the Vale of Sorek,—a natural position for the camp of Israel at a time when the tribe of Dan had disappeared from the Shephelah below and left the higher line as Israel's frontier towards the Philistines. If Deir-Aban be Eben-ezer, then Aphek lay below it in the Shephelah, and the Israelites, in their false faith in the ark, descended there from their impregnable position and suffered a merited defeat.³

The course, however, of the ark's return is certain. It was up the broad Vale of Sorek that the untended kine of

¹ This point is well put by Von Orelli in his most judicious treatment of the whole subject in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie*.

² 1 Sam. iv.

³ Aphek has been placed without reason at Kh. Beled-el-Foka, in the Shephelah, south of Wady es Surar. Wellhausen (*History of Israel*, Eng. Trans., 1st ed., p. 448) would place this Aphek in Sharon (founding on another reading of Joshua xii. 18, *King of Aphek in Sharon*), opposite Dothan. But his geography is not to be relied on. He talks of the plain of Sharon merging into Dothan. There were several Apheks: one in the neighbourhood of Gilboa, where the Philistines encamped before the battle with Saul (1 Sam. xxix. 6); another on the plateau to the east of the Lake of Galilee, where Israel defeated the Syrians (1 Kings xx. 26, 30). Mr. J. S. Black holds these two to have been the same, and identifies them with the Aphek of Sharon (alternative reading of Josh. xii. 18. See Mr. Black's *Smaller Camb. Bible for Schools* on that verse). The whole subject of the Apheks of the Old Testament deserves separate treatment, and I hope to return to it. It is singular that twice over Philistines should encamp against Israel at an Aphek.

Beth-shemesh dragged the ark behind them, cropping the barley as they went, and lowing the frequent signal of their coming to the reapers at the top of the valley. The new site, suggested with so much reason for Kirjath-jearim, Khurbet 'Erma, lies at the entrance to Judæa.

3. The next valley that cuts the Shephelah is the Wady es Sunt, from the head of which the narrow Wady el Jindy takes you up through the Central Range to the neighbourhood of Bethlehem. The Wady es Sunt is probably the Vale of Elah.¹ Its entrance from the Philistine Plain is commanded by the famous Tell-es-Safiyeh, the Blanchegarde of the Crusaders, whose high white front looks west across the plain twelve miles to Ashdod. Blanchegarde must always have been a very strong position, and it is simply inability to assign to the site any other Biblical town—for Libnah has no satisfactory claims—that makes the case so strong for its having been the site of Gath. Blanchegarde is twenty-three miles from Jerusalem, but the way up is most difficult after you leave the Wady es Sunt. It is a remarkable fact that when Richard decided to besiege Jerusalem, and had already marched from Ascalon to Blanchegarde on his way, instead of then pursuing the Wady es Sunt and its narrow continuation to Bethlehem, he preferred to turn north two days' march across the Shephelah hills with his flank to the enemy, and to attack his goal up the Valley of Ajalon.²

An hour's ride from Tell-es-Safiyeh up the winding Vale of Elah brings us to its head, where the Wady el Jindy comes down from near Bethlehem, and the Wady es Sur from opposite Hebron.³ At the junction there is a level plain of a quarter of a mile broad cut by three brooks, which combine to form the stream down Wady es Sunt.

¹ 1 Sam. xvii. 2.

² Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *Itinerary* V. 48 pp.

³ The Wady es Sur and Wady es Sunt are really one and the same valley.

This plain is probably the scene of David's encounter with Goliath; for to the south of it, on the low range that bounds the Wady es Sunt in that direction, is the name Shuweikeh, probably the Shocoh, on which the Philistines rested their rear and faced the Israelites across the valley.¹ Major Conder recognises the "Gai," or ravine, which separated them² in the deep trench that the combined stream has cut through the level land: and this is another article in the cumulative evidence for the site. To Major Conder's admirable picture of the disposition of the armies I may add the following: Shocoh is a strong position isolated from the rest of the ridge; and it keeps open the line of retreat down the valley. Saul's army was probably not immediately opposite, but a little way up on the slopes of the incoming Wady el Jindy, and so placed that the Philistines in attacking it must cross not only the level land and the main stream, but one of the two other streams as well, and must also climb the slopes for some distance. Both positions were thus very strong, and this fact perhaps explains the long hesitation of the armies in face of each other, even though the Philistines had the advantage of Goliath. The Israelite position certainly looks the stronger. It is interesting, too, that from its rear the narrow pass goes right up to the interior of the land near Bethlehem; so that the shepherd-boy, whom the story represents as being sent by his father for news of the battle, —and who, when he came, turned the even balance between these two strong positions by a little pebble—would have almost twelve miles to cover between his father's house and the camp.

4. The fourth of the valleys that cut the Shephelah, is that now named the Wady el 'Afranj, which runs from opposite Hebron north-west to Ashdod and the coast. It is important as containing the real capital of the Shephelah,

¹ *Tent Work*, p. 279.

² 1 Sam. xvii. 3.

the present Beit-Gibrin. This site has not been identified with any Old Testament name, but, like so many other places in Palestine, its permanent importance is illustrated by its use during Roman times, and also during the Crusades. It was a centre of the Idumæans when they extended north across the Shephelah in the last centuries before Christ. The Romans fortified it, and the roads they built from it in all directions are still visible among the brushwood and cornfields of the neighbouring valleys. Septimius Severus gave it certain rights, from which it received the new name Eleutheropolis, and it became the centre of a Christian see. During the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, Gibelin, as the place was called, was the Crusader's base against Ascalon, and Fulke of Anjou built the citadel. The remains of this and of a great church still impress the squalid village with some sense of grandeur. Hard by there is the noble ruin of Sandahanna, church and cloister of Saint Anne, the mother of the virgin. The chalk ridges are penetrated by vast caves, elaborately carved, perhaps once the dwelling of the ancient Horites; certainly in later times the refuge of Christians, whose marks they yet bear. The mouths of those caves that look south have a glorious view across Mareshah, Moresheth Gath, and the site of Lachish to Gaza and the sea. But it was the straight, solid Roman roads that interested me most about Beit-Gibrin; for there is little doubt that it was by one of them, or rather by one of the previous highways they represent, that the eunuch of Queen Candace, either before or after his baptism, passed home in his chariot.

5. The last of the valleys through the Shephelah is Wady el Hesy, or Wady el Jizâir, running from a point about six miles south-west of Hebron to the sea, between Gaza and Ascalon. This valley also has its important sites; for Lachish, which used to be placed at Umm

Lakis on the slopes to the south of it, is now, since Mr. Flinders Petrie's excavations, more clearly identified with Tell el Hesy, a mound in the bed of it, and Eglon is close by.

Above Lachish, some five miles to the Wells of Qassaba or Wells of the Reeds, there is usually wealth of water, and all the year round a stream.¹ Latin Chronicles of the Crusades know the place as Cannetum Esturnellorum, or "The Canebrake of the Starlings." Richard twice made it a base of operations: once on coming up the Wady el Hesy from the coast after taking Darum, when he advanced on Beit-Gibrin, and once again when he came to intercept, in the Wady esh Sheria, a rich caravan on its way from Egypt to Jerusalem. The description of these two operations² helps us to realise the importance of Lachish and its Wady in Old Testament times. Lachish covered Gaza, as well as the coast road to Egypt, and the inland road by Beersheba.

I have now explained the strategic importance of the Shephelah, and especially of the five valleys that are the only possibilities of passage through it for great armies. How much of the history of all these centuries can be localised along one or other of them! and when we have done so, how much more vivid that history becomes!

There is one great campaign in the Shephelah, which I have not discussed in connection with any of the main routes, because the details of it are obscure—Sennacherib's invasion of Syria in 701 B.C. But the general course of it, as told in the Assyrian annals and the Bible, becomes plain in the light of the geography we have been studying. Sennacherib, coming down the coast, like the Syrians and Crusaders, like them also conquered first the towns about

¹ Clermont-Ganneau: *Recueil*, etc., 378.

² Vinsauf: *Itinerarium*, V. 41, VI. 4.

Joppa.¹ Then he defeated an Egyptian army before Alteku, somewhere near Ekron, on the Philistine Plain,² and took Ekron and Timnah. With Egypt beaten back, and the northern Shephelah mastered, the way was now open into Judah, the invasion of which and the investment of Jerusalem accordingly appear next in the list of Sennacherib's triumphs. These must have been effected by a detachment of the Assyrian army, for Sennacherib himself is next heard of in the southern Shephelah, besieging Lachish and Libnah, no doubt with the view of securing his way to Egypt. At Lachish he received the tribute of Hezekiah, who thus hoped to purchase the relief of the still inviolate Jerusalem; but in spite of the tribute, he sent to Hezekiah from Lachish and Libnah two peremptory demands for her surrender. Then the Assyrian army was smitten, not, as we usually imagine, round the walls of Jerusalem, for the Bible nowhere implies that, but under Sennacherib himself in the main camp and headquarters, which either were still in the southern Shephelah, or, if we may believe Herodotus, had crossed the desert to Pelusium, and were overtaken in that pestiferous region, that has destroyed so many armies.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

¹ See *Records of the Past*, First Series, Vol. I., and Vol. I. of Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the O.T.* I gave an account of this campaign in illustration of the relevant prophecies of Isaiah (Isaiah: *Expositor's Bible*, Vol. I. chapters xix.-xxiii.), which I still think to be justified by the data of the Bible, the Assyrian annals, and Herodotus ii. 14., and more correct than Schrader's view, which makes the crisis of the campaign the Battle of Eltekeh.

² Alteku, the Eltekeh of Joshua xix. 44, cannot be where the survey map suggests, up the vale of Ajalon,—for how could an Assyrian and Egyptian army have met there?—but was near Ekron, and on the route to Egypt. Kh. Lezka is the only modern name there at all like it.

DR. DRIVER'S INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

PART II

I venture by way of preface to express the hope that whatever I say here may be read in the light of the introductory pages of Part I. The book before us is not only full of facts but characterized by a thoroughly individual way of regarding its subject. This individuality I have endeavoured to sketch with a free but friendly hand. If the reader has not followed me in this, he may perhaps misinterpret the remarks which this part of my study contains. It is only worth while for me to differ from Dr. Driver because at heart I am at one with him, and on many important points we agree. And I am reconciled to a frequent difference of opinion both as a critic and to some extent as a theologian by the thought that in our common studies it is by the contact of trained and disciplined "subjectivities" that true progress is made.

In the first two chapters of the *Introduction*, a part of which I have called "the gem of the book," Dr. Driver takes the student as near as possible to the centre of the problems. I do not think that this is equally the case throughout the remainder of the work. But I am very far from blaming the author for this relative inferiority of the following chapters. His narrow limits, which he refers to in the preface, go a long way towards accounting for this. And if I add another explanation which seems here and there to be applicable, it is not in the spirit of opposition. Let me confess, then, that some problems of not inconsiderable importance are neglected, possibly because Dr. Driver's early formed linguistic habits of mind hinder him from fully grasping the data for their solution. The reader will see what I mean presently.

Let us now resume our survey. Chapter III. relates to the very important Book of Isaiah. I need not say that it is a very careful and solid piece of work; and yet nowhere, as it seems to me, do the limitations of Dr. Driver's criticism come more clearly into view. How inadequate, for instance, is his treatment of chap. i., the prologue, presumably, of a larger collection of Isaiah's prophecies! Has it, or has it not, more than a literary unity? The question is not even touched. And what is the date of its composition or redaction? Two dates are mentioned, but without sufficient explanation, and no decision between them is made.¹ Is this a laudable "sobriety" and "judicial reserve"? It would be an illusion to think so. And yet, even here there is an indication that the author has progressed since 1888. The curiously popular reason offered (but "without any confidence") in *Isaiah*, p. 20, for assigning this prophecy to the reign of Jotham is silently withdrawn. And just so (to criticise myself as well as the author) I have long ago ceased to assign Isaiah i. to the time of a supposed invasion of Judah by Sargon. I might of course fill many pages were I to follow Dr. Driver through the Book of Isaiah step by step. This being impossible, I will confine myself to the most salient points of his criticism. There is much to content even a severe judge; how excellent, for instance, are the remarks on the origin of Isaiah xv.-xvi. ! Nor will I blame the author much for not alluding to what some may call hypercritical theories; it is rather his insufficient reference to familiar and inevitable problems which I am compelled to regret. Nothing, for

¹ The reference (p. 196, foot) to Gesenius, Delitzsch, and Dillmann as having advocated this date is hardly correct. Gesenius says (*Jesaja*, i. 148), "For Jotham I find no grounds adduced." Delitzsch (*Jes.*, p. 68), "The date of this first prophecy is a riddle," but at any rate it seems, he thinks, to belong to "the time after Uzziah and Jotham." Dillmann (*Jes.*, p. 2) refers Isa. i. to the Syro-Ephraimitish war, but he states emphatically (p. 63) that though the hostilities began under Jotham, they were not very serious till the reign of Ahaz.

instance, is said of the difficult problem of Isaiah xix. 16-25. It may be urged by the author that Kuenen himself pronounces in favour of the integrity of the chapter,¹ and that such a careful scholar as Prof. Whitehouse has recently expressed his surprise at the continued doubts of some critics.² That is true, but it should be added that Kuenen fully admits the strength of the critical arguments on the opposite side, and that Prof. Whitehouse pronounces judgment before he has fully heard the case.

Nor can I help being surprised (in spite of the anticipatory "plea" offered in the preface) at Dr. Driver's incomplete treatment of Isaiah xxiii., and for the same reason, viz., that its problems are familiar ones. I will not here argue the case in favour of the theory of editorial manipulation. But among the stylistic phenomena which point to another hand than Isaiah's I may at least mention מַעֲנִיָּה (v. 11), נִשְׁרִים and יְסֻדָּה לְצִיִּים (v. 13), מִכְסָּה (v. 18). And why should the unintelligent ridicule directed against so-called "divination" and "guesswork" prevent me from attaching weight to the impression of so many good critics that Isaiah never (if I may use the phrase) "passed this work for publication"? Verses 15-18 are doubtless a post-Exilic epilogue³ ("doubtless" from the point of view of those who have already satisfied themselves of the existence of much besides that is post-Exilic in pre-Exilic works). Verse 13 is written by one who has both Isaiah's phrases and those of other writers in his head; it may of course even be an Isaianic verse recast. Verses 1-12, 14 are too fine (such is my own impression) for Jeremiah, and now that it is certain (see Niese's text of Josephus) that Me-

¹ *Onderzoek*, ii. 71, 72.

² *Critical Review*, January, 1892, p. 10. The case for disintegration is much stronger than this writer supposes, nor are the familiar arguments adduced by him conclusive.

³ My own original view (in *Isaiah Chronologically Arranged*) from which I ought not to have swerved.

nander, quoted in Jos., *Ant.* ix. 14, 2, referred to Shalmaneser by name (Σελάμφας) as the besieger of Tyre, there seems good reason to believe that Isaiah really wrote Isaiah xxiii. 1-14, but in a form not entirely identical with our present text.¹

Thus much on Dr. Driver's treatment of the generally acknowledged prophecies of Isaiah. With a word of hearty praise to the useful criticism of chaps. xxxvi.-xxxix. (in which I only miss a reference to the debate as to the Song of Hezekiah), I pass on to that large portion of the Book which is of disputed origin. Here I have been specially anxious to notice any signs of advance, for it is Dr. Driver's treatment of these chapters in his earlier book which prevents me from fully endorsing Dr. Sanday's eulogy of that work in the preface to *The Oracles of God*. First of all, however, I must make some reference to a passage on which I have myself unwittingly helped to lead the author astray. It is one which most critics have denied to Isaiah and grouped with xiii. 1-xiv. 23, but which, following Kleinert, I thought in 1881 might be reclaimed for that prophet by the help of Assyriology—the "oracle on the wilderness by the sea" (xxi. 1-10). Dr. Driver mentions (p. 205) the chief reasons for thinking that the siege of Babylon referred to in this passage is one of the three which took place in Isaiah's lifetime, and tells us that in his earlier work he followed me in adopting this theory, but adds that it has not found favour with recent writers on Isaiah. With these "recent writers" I myself now fully agree. I adopted Kleinert's (or, more strictly, George Smith's²) theory as a part of a connected view of a group of prophecies of Isaiah (including x. 5-33 and xxii. 1-14), and I understood the

¹ The adaptation of Isaiah's prophecy to post-Exilic readers will be like Isaiah's adaptation of an old prophecy on Moab in chaps. xv., xvi. (if Dr. Driver is right in agreeing with me, p. 203).

² *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, ii. 329.

words "O my threshed and winnowed one" (xxi. 10) to refer to Sargon's supposed invasion of Judah. A change in my view of these prophecies, however, naturally led me to reconsider the date of the prophecy xxi. 1-10, which I now understand as written at the close of the exile ("Elam" in v. 2 = "Anzan," of which Cyrus was king before he conquered Media). The strange thing to me is that Dr. Driver should ever have agreed with me: 1, because, as I warned the student, there were "reasons of striking plausibility" for not separating this prophecy from the other prophecies on Babylon which were undoubtedly not of Isaiah's age; 2, because Dr. Driver differed from me as to the reality of Sargon's supposed invasion, and had therefore a much less strong case to offer for the new theory. The truth is that the author was biassed by a false apologetic and an imperfect critical theory. Isaiah xxi. 1-10 could hardly refer to the capture of Babylon in 538. Why? Because, "firstly, no intelligible purpose would be subserved by Isaiah's announcing to the generation of Hezekiah an occurrence lying like this in the distant future," etc. (*Introd.*, 205). In other words, Dr. Driver quietly assumes (inconsistently, I gladly admit, with his own words on Isaiah xiii. 2, etc.) that Isaiah xxi. 1-10 must be Isaiah's work, or, at least, that any other view is too improbable to mention. And in order to interpret the prophecy in accordance with an isolated part of Kleinert's and of my own former theory, he is forced to interpret "O my threshed one" in v. 10 as a prediction ("he foresees the sufferings which the present triumph of Assyria will entail upon them," etc., p. 205), whereas the only natural view of the words is that which explains them as descriptive of past sufferings. It is important to add that Dr. Driver seems now inclined to retreat from his former position (which was in the main my own), though he does not mention the mixture of Isaianic and non-Isaianic phenomena in the passage.

Bishop Ellicott may perhaps be severe on our supposed changeableness. But if he will refer to my own *Isaiah* (ed. 3, vol i., p. 127), he will find these words, "I gladly admit that a further knowledge of the circumstances of the Jews might conceivably enable us to reconcile the prophecy with a date at the close of the Exile." Here there was no dogmatism, no determination to treat the point as finally settled. And undue dogmatism is, I am sure, not less abhorrent to Dr. Driver than to myself.

Next with regard to the more commonly controverted prophecies in *Isaiah* i.-xxxix. The remarks on *Isaiah* xiii. 1-xiv. 23 are excellent. If they appear to any one somewhat popular and obvious, let it be remembered that this section is the first of those which are written from an Exilic point of view. It was therefore specially needful to be popular; I only regret not to find it pointed out that whatever you say about the prophecy, to assign an ode like that in *Isaiah* xiv. 4-21 to *Isaiah* is the very height of unreason. Dr. Driver's treatment of the other prophecies shows increased definiteness and insight. Chapters xxxiv. and xxxv. were not expressly dated in the *Isaiah*; they are now referred to the period of the Exile, and grouped with *Isaiah* xiii. 2, etc., and *Jeremiah* l., li. This however is not a sufficient step in advance. Long ago (see *Isaiah* i. 194)¹ I ventured to maintain that these chapters are post-Exilic works of the imitative school of prophecy, and ten years have only deepened my convictions. Dr. Driver may indeed claim for his own view the high authority of Dillmann, who thinks that the phenomena of these chapters "bring us at any rate to the close of the Exile," but would it not have been well to give the grounds of that cautious critic's significant qualification (*jedenfalls*)? Let us pass on now to

¹ See *Ency. Brit.*, art. "*Isaiah*" (1881); *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July, 1891, p. 102; Jan., 1892, p. 332; and cf. Dillmann, *Jesaja*, p. 302; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, ii. 91-93; Grätz, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, Oct., 1891, pp. 1-8.

chaps. xxiv.-xxvii.—a dangerous hunting-ground for young scholars in search of distinction, as Mr. W. E. Barnes has lately proved by his elaborate defence of Isaiah's authorship of these chapters against all modern critics (including among these even Delitzsch.)¹ Dr. Driver himself, though not a young scholar, was led astray for a time by the same spirit of compromise which has so often injured him as a critic. In 1888 he was "disposed" (as he remarks, p. 209) "to acquiesce in the opinion that it might have been written on the eve of the Exile," a most unfortunate and scarcely critical opinion which isolated the author from his natural allies. The consequences of this violation of all historical probability has since then become visible to the author, who remarks that this prophecy—

"Differs so widely from the other prophecies of this period (Jer. Ezek.) that this view can scarcely be maintained. There are features in which it is in advance not merely of Isaiah, but even of Deutero-Isaiah. It may be referred most plausibly to the early post-Exilic period" (p. 210).

Well, perhaps it may—for the present. At any rate, Dr. Driver grants that a post-Exilic writing has found its way into the Book of Isaiah. I am not without hope that further study of the later prophetic writings and of the post-Exilic period in general may convince him that he is still somewhat too cautious, and that the ideas of this singular but most instructive prophecy can only be understood as characteristic of the *later* Persian age. Far be it from any one to disparage this period. The Spirit of the Lord was not suddenly straitened; the period of artificial prophecy (artificial from a literary point of view) was not without fine monuments of faith and hope and religious

¹ Delitzsch, it is true, had not made himself fully at home in the results of that criticism to which he was so late a convert. He can only satisfy himself that the author is "not Isaiah himself, but a disciple of Isaiah who here surpasses the master." But he is not only a disciple of Isaiah, but of other prophets too (see Dr. Driver's selection of allusions).

thought. But to carry this subject further would compel me to enter into the history of religious ideas,¹ and to exceed the limits of this review.

And now we can no longer avoid applying to the author one of the crucial tests of criticism, and ask, How does he stand in relation to the critical problems of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. ? That Dr. Driver neither could nor would assign these chapters to Isaiah was indeed well known from his *Isaiah*, nor need I stint my eulogy of the general treatment of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. in that book as compared with most other popular works on the subject. Very heartily do I wish the *Isaiah* a long career of usefulness. For though *unsophisticated* common sense may recognise at once that these chapters can no more have been written by Isaiah than Psalm cxxxvii. can have been written by David, there are still, I fear, not many persons like—

“My friend A, who, reading more than twenty years ago the Book of the Prophet Isaiah, and passing without pause from the 39th to the 40th chapter, was suddenly struck with amazement and the conviction that it was impossible that one man should have written both chapters.”²

In such a brilliantly intellectual paper as the *Spectator* it is still possible to read vehement defences of the unity of authorship, and who can wonder that less literary Bible-students, in spite of their “English common sense,” cling to the same belief? It is very necessary therefore for some competent scholar like Dr. Driver to remedy, so far as he can, what may be called the sophistication of our native good sense. Still an older student of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. may be permitted to regret the imperfection of Dr. Driver's work. To treat Isaiah xl.-lxvi. as a “continuous prophecy,” written from the same historical and religious standpoint, and dealing throughout with a common theme, is a retrograde

¹ Comp. my *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 120, 133, 402, 403.

² From a letter signed “Hope” in the *Times*, Jan. 7th, 1832.

policy which I cannot help lamenting. As long as this theory was advocated in a semi-popular work, it was possible to hold that Dr. Driver adopted it from educational considerations. There is, of course, no competent teacher who does not sometimes have to condescend to the capacities of his pupils. It is no doubt easier for a beginner to take in the view of what I have heard called the "dual authorship of the Book of Isaiah" than a more complicated, even though a sounder theory. But when the statements of Dr. Driver's *Isaiah* are repeated in a work which aims at "representing the present condition of investigation," it becomes more difficult to account for them. For the progress of exegesis has revealed the fact that there are several striking breaks in the continuity, changes in the tone and the historical situation, modifications of the religious ideas. "Revealed" may seem a strong word, but the truth is that though some early critics had a glimpse of these facts, the knowledge was lost again in a very natural rebound from the pernicious extreme of the fanatical disintegrators. It was Ewald who rectified the new error of Gesenius and Hitzig, and the example of *moderate* disintegration set by him was followed, not of course without very much variety of view, by Bleek, Geiger, Oort, Kuenen, Stade, Dillmann, Cornill, Budde, and in England by myself in 1881, and by Mr. G. A. Smith in 1890. The principal exegetical facts which require disintegration will be found in my own commentary on Isaiah (1880-1881), my own latest explanation of them in two published academical lectures.¹ I have no feverish anxiety to make converts;

¹ See *Jewish Quarterly Review*, July and Oct., 1891. Budde approaches very near to me, confirming his view by his researches into the "elegiac rhythm" (Stade's *Zt.*, 1891, p. 242). Those who wish for bolder theories may go to Kuenen and Cornill. The gradualness of Kuenen's advance adds special weight to his opinions. I will not deny the plausibility of his arguments, especially in the light of a more advanced view of the date of Job. But I can only write according to the light which I have at the time.

I am perfectly willing to be converted to other theories by more acute and thorough critics than myself. But what is desirable is this: that the exegetical facts which so many trained critics have noticed should be recognised and critically explained by all earnest scholars, and that some credit both for priority among recent analysts and for caution and moderation should be awarded where it is due. Such remarks as these ought to be impossible in the principal literary organ of Anglican Churchmen.

"We think that there is at present in some quarters ['another professor' had been already indicated] a readiness to break up works on utterly insufficient grounds, which is almost wantonly provoking, and we are heartily glad that Dr. Driver gives no countenance whatever to such a proceeding."¹

The pretension here and elsewhere set up on behalf of Dr. Driver is doubtless most repugnant to that candid scholar, but it is, I fear, his own imperfect exhibition of the "present condition of investigation" which has produced the serious errors and illusions of a conscientious but ill-informed writer.

I will now advance a step. It is in the interests, not only of criticism, but also of that very view of the "prophecy of restoration" which Dr. Driver himself values so highly that I venture to criticise his treatment of Isaiah xl.-lxvi. For although there is much in these chapters which, as conservative scholars admit, may be taken to favour an Exilic date, there are also, as they rightly maintain, other phenomena which seem inconsistent with this date. Dr. Driver has, of course, an explanation for those phenomena which do not altogether suit him, and so, too, have his conservative opponents for those which do not suit them. It is impossible therefore that either side should gain an undisputed victory.² Seeing this, the

¹ *Guardian*, Dec. 2, 1891 (p. 1953).

² Even if it be granted that Isaiah xl.-lxvi. is not Isaiah's work, there is no

moderate disintegrating critics intervene with an *eirenicon*; why should not Dr. Driver join them, and claim for himself a share in the blessing of the peace-makers? There is room enough for the linguistic and the rhythmical keys, as well as for that which I myself chiefly applied to these problems. But I will not dwell longer on this thorny subject.

The next prophets in order are Jeremiah and Ezekiel. On these the "higher criticism" has less to say than on the Book of Isaiah. With regard to Jeremiah x. 1-16, Dr. Driver tells us that either it belongs to the latter part of Jeremiah's career, or it is the work of a prophet at the close of the Exile. But why hesitate? Surely the two theories are not *equally probable*, and interesting as the linguistic remarks on the interpolated Aramaic verse (v. 11) may be, are they not somewhat out of place? At any rate the facts want a little more theory to illuminate them. Nor are they complete. If אֲרָקָא occurs in x. 11 a, is not the ordinary form אֲרָעָא found in x. 11 b? And does not the less usual form occur in the Midrashim (e.g., *Ber. R.* 13)? Moreover, does not the suffix הוּם deserve mention? It agrees with the Aramaic part of Ezra, but not with that of Daniel¹ (which always gives הוּן). I do not (as the reader will see later) undervalue linguistic data; but would not these particular facts have been more in place in the great forthcoming Hebrew Dictionary? And why is there no reference to Mr. Ball's somewhat elaborate discussion of chap. x. in his contribution to the *Expositor's Bible*?² Consider how much else has been "crowded

absolute necessity to adopt Dr. Driver's view. For it may be asked, May not the prophecy be a *work of the restoration-period*? (So not only Seinecke but Isidore Loeb, *Revue des études juives*, juillet-sept., 1891.) My own answer, of course, is ready; but what can Dr. Driver say?

¹ Mr. Bevan omits to notice this point in his excellent work on Daniel (p. 36).

² Mr. Ball's *Jeremiah* has escaped the notice of the author, who takes such pleasure in recognising English work.

out." For instance, though perhaps enough is said of the two texts of Jeremiah (Dr. Driver, on the whole, prefers the Hebrew; Cornill the Greek text), there is no sufficient discussion of the method and plan of Jeremiah's editor, nor are any hints given with regard to possible interpolations other than those to which the Septuagint can guide us (*e.g.* xvii. 19-27). Another interesting question (raised by Schwally) is that of the authorship of Jeremiah xxv. and xlv.-li. Though Jeremiah l.-li. is fully admitted (on grounds which supplement those given in 1885 in my "Pulpit Commentary") to be Exilic, the larger problem is not referred to. On the contents of Ezekiel, too, much more might have been said. There are difficulties connected with the question of Ezekiel's editorial processes—difficulties exaggerated by a too brilliant Dutch scholar (A. Pierson), and yet grave enough to be mentioned. But of course a difference of judgment as to the selection of material is occasionally to be expected. At any rate, valuable help is given on Ezekiel xl.-xlviii., which, by an instructive exaggeration, some one has called "the key to the Old Testament."¹ It remains for some future scholar to rediscover this great pastor, patriot, and prophet.²

The Minor Prophets are by no means all of them either of minor importance or of minor difficulty.³ In some cases, it is true, the date and authorship are on the whole free from difficulty. Hence in treating of Hosea, Amos, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, and Malachi, it is the contents and special characteristics of the books to which Dr. Driver mainly directs his attention. Not that

¹ J. Orth, *ap.* Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 447.

² Prof. Davidson's *Ezekiel* (in the Cambridge Biblical series) has not yet come into my hands.

³ I venture to regret that no mention is made of Renan's interesting study on the Minor Prophets in the *Journal des savants*, Nov., 1888. Renan may have great faults, but cannot be altogether ignored. Taylor's *Text of Micah* (1891) might also claim mention.

there are no critical questions of any moment, but, as a rule, they are of a class in which the author is not as yet much interested. It were ungracious to touch upon them here, except in the case of Habakkuk iii. In omitting all criticism of the heading of this ode, or psalm, Dr. Driver seems to me inconsistent with himself; for though he leaves the authorship of the "Song of Hezekiah" unquestioned, he has no scruple in holding that the psalm in Jonah ii. was not the work of Jonah. In the "present state of critical investigation" it has become almost equally difficult to defend tradition in any one of these cases. Certainly neither the expressions nor the ideas of Habakkuk iii. agree with those of Habakkuk i., ii.; they favour a post-Exilic rather than a pre-Exilic date. The most reasonable view is that both the psalms of Hezekiah and that of Habakkuk once formed part of a liturgical collection (cf. Hab. iii. 19, Isa. xxxviii. 20).¹ Had Dr. Driver omitted the reference on page 283 to a bold conjecture of Prof. Sayce,² he would have gained more than enough space for some mention of this important critical point. He might also have gracefully referred to Mr. Sinker's *Psalm of Habakkuk* (1890). I venture to add that caution is carried too far when the date of Nahum is placed between B.C. 664 and 607. The prophecy must, it would seem, have been written either *circa* B.C. 660 (as, following Schrader, Tiele and myself dated it in 1888), or *circa* 623, the date of the first campaign of Cyaxares against Assyria (as recently both Kuenen and Cornill).

The other Minor Prophets are considerably more difficult. Obadiah, for instance, well deserves a closer investigation. Dr. Driver's treatment of the book is, as far as it

¹ So Stade and Kuenen; see also my *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 125 (top), 156, 157, 210, 214, and *Isaiah*, i. 228-9.

² For which, besides Dr. Driver's references, see *Babylonian and Oriental Record*, ii. 18-22.

goes, excellent. On Obadiah 1-9 he adopts the most critical view, viz., that Obadiah here takes for his text a much older prophecy, which is also reproduced with greater freedom in Jeremiah xlix. 7-22. But he makes no attempt to fix the period of the prophecy more precisely. I will not presume to censure him for this. But if the book was to carry out the promises of the programme, I venture to think that the two views which are still held ought to have been mentioned, viz. (1) that Obadiah wrote soon after the destruction of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar (Schrader, Riehm, Meyrick); and (2) that his date is some time after the re-establishment of the Jews in their own land (Kuenen, Cornill). The latter view seems to me to be required by a strict exegesis.

There is also another omission of which I would gently complain. Dr. Driver undertakes to give some account of the contents of the several books. But here he omits one most important feature of Obadiah's description, which I venture to give from a critical paper of my own (printed in 1881) which has escaped the notice of Dr. Driver.

"One very singular feature requires explanation. The captives of the northern kingdom are not to settle in their old homes; their kinsmen of the southern tribes have expanded too much for this. They are therefore compensated by the gift of that border-land, which had never as yet been thoroughly conquered, 'the cities of the Canaanites as far as Zarephath' (this is the most probable view of the first half of v. 20)—they became, in fact, the guardians of the northern marches just as the captives of Judah are the keepers of the southern. Tyre is excepted, for a great future is reserved for Tyre (Isa. xxiii. 17, 18). But in speaking of the captives of Judah we must draw a distinction. The guardians of the 'south-country' (the *Negeb*, or 'dry land') are, not the mass of the captives of Israel, but those 'who are in Sepharad.'"¹

Now, what is "Sepharad"? If this had nothing to do with the date of the book, Dr. Driver might simply have referred to a dictionary of the Bible. But it has very much

¹ "The Book of Obadiah," *Homiletic Quarterly*, Jan., 1881, pp. 114-117.

indeed to do with it, and Prof. Sayce may justly complain of the author for this neglect of archæological evidences. I am aware of the diversity of opinion which exists among scholars as to the locality of "Sepharad"; the evidence and the arguments lie before me. But it is clear that if the prophecy, as it stands, is post-Exilic, we can hardly help identifying "Sepharad" with Çparda, the name of a province of the Persian empire, which stands between Cappadocia and Ionia in the inscription of Darius at Naksh-i-Rustam.¹ What now becomes the most natural view of the date of the prophecy? When can there have been a captive-band from Jerusalem in Phrygia or Lydia? The earliest possible time known to us is about B.C. 351, when Artaxerxes Ochus so cruelly punished the participation of the Jews in the great revolt. I have remarked elsewhere that this was "the third of Israel's great captivities,"² and have referred various psalms to the distress and embitterment which it produced. It is very noteworthy that the prophet nowhere mentions either the Chaldeans or *Babylon*. Also that Joel iii. 6, refers to "children of Judah and of Jerusalem" as having been sold to the "sons of the Javanites" (Ionia was close to Çparda = Sepharad). Now Joel, as Dr. Driver and I agree, is post-Exilic, and *appears to refer in ii. 32 to Obad. 17*. Is all this of no importance to the student? I cannot think so, provided that the critic also points out the religious elements which give vitality to this little prophecy.

Here let me remind the reader that I am no opponent of Professor Driver. Most gladly would I have given him unmingled thanks for all the good that is in his book. I am only hindered from doing so by those very serious mis-

¹ See *Records of the Past*, V. 70 (where however "Sparta" is an incorrect identification of "Çparda"). On "Sepharad," Lassen, Spiegel, Oppert, Sayce, but especially Schrader, have learnedly discoursed. See the latter's *The Cuneiform Inscriptions*, etc. (by Whitehouse) on Obad. 20, and his *Keilschriften und Geschichtsforschung*, pp. 116-119.

² *Bampton Lectures for 1889*, p. 53; cf. p. 229,

apprehensions of the public, which I have endeavoured to combat, and to which, in one respect, the editors of the "Library" have unintentionally contributed. It was perhaps specially difficult for Professor Driver to explain the prevailing tendency of critical opinion on the Minor Prophets because of the attention naturally directed in the Anglican Church to the successor of Dr. Pusey, a scholar who not only worthily summed up and *closed* a philological period, but represented a school of orthodoxy which is still powerful among us. Dr. Driver would not, I believe, say that he has as yet given us all that he hopes to know about Joel. This little Book is one of those which suffer most by a separate treatment, and every advance which we make in our study of the other post-Exilic writings must react (as I have shown in one case already) on our view of Joel. But what Dr. Driver does give us is excellent; I only miss the definite statement (which is surely a necessary inference from the facts produced) that the Book of Joel is at any rate hardly earlier than the age of Nehemiah (*i.e.* the second half of the fifth century).¹ It might also have been mentioned that the early Jewish doctors were rather for than against a late date for Joel.²

I now come to a Book which, by the common consent of sympathetic readers, is one of the most beautiful in the Old Testament Canon—the Book of Jonah. It is also however one of the most controverted, and one cannot but admire the quiet dignity with which Dr. Driver sets forth his own free but devout critical views. In the first place, as to the date. By four (or rather five)³ arguments unconnected with the extraordinary character of the story, it is shown that the Book finds its only natural home in the

¹ So Merx, Kuenen, Cornill, and Prof. Robertson Smith. On the linguistic argument see further on.

² See Rosenzweig, *Das Jahrhundert nach dem bab. Exile*, p. 45.

³ See note 1, p. 301.

post-Exilic period. I think myself that we might go further, and that from a fuller study of the literature and history of the post-Exilic period, and also (if I may say so) of *psalm-criticism*, Dr. Driver may obtain a still more definite solution of the critical problem. But the main point has been settled beyond dispute. It remains however to determine (1) What the didactic purpose of the Book is, and (2) Whether, or to what extent, the narrative is historical. On the latter point Dr. Driver says that "quite irrespectively of the miraculous features in the narrative, it must be admitted that it is not strictly historical," but also that—

"No doubt the materials of the narrative were supplied to the author by tradition, and rest ultimately on a basis of fact: no doubt the outlines of the narrative are historical, and Jonah's preaching was actually successful at Nineveh (Luke xi. 30, 32), though not upon the scale represented in the Book" (p. 303).

May I be allowed gently to criticise the latter statement, which yields too much to stationary thinkers like Bishop Ellicott? The author speaks here as if, whenever the Saviour referred in appearance to historical individuals, He necessarily believed Himself that the persons named were actually historical. This in Sir Philip Sidney's time appears to have been commonly held; for in mentioning the story of the rich man and Lazarus¹ he apologetically refers to "the learned divines" who account the narrative to be a parable. But what necessity is there for this view with regard to Christ's words in Luke xi. 30, 32? Considering how temporary and therefore how superficial the "repentance" of the Ninevites (if historical) must have been, and how completely different was the repentance which Christ demanded, it becomes surely the most natural view that Jesus Christ interpreted the story as an instructive parable. We cannot indeed prove this; and even if He did,

¹ *An Apologie for Poetrie* (Arber), p. 35.

with His wonderful spiritual tact, so interpret it, we cannot be sure that He would have communicated His interpretation to His dull disciples, on whom probably the distinction between history and quasi-historical didactic fiction would have been lost.

I venture also to object that Dr. Driver's reference to the New Testament will give offence to many young men who, without being in the least undevout, desire to *study the Old Testament historically*. He who would guide this best class of students must not even seem to be biassed by a disputable theological theory respecting the knowledge of the Saviour. To me it appears in the highest degree probable that the story of the Book of Jonah is not merely not in all points, but not in any point, historical, and I have on my side such a moderate and orthodox critic as Riehm.¹ The romantic form of literature which flourished among the later Jews must have had a beginning; Tobit cannot have been its first specimen. It also appears to me more than probable that there is a mythic element in the story of Jonah. I do not mean that this story is itself a popular myth, but that, as I showed in 1877,² the author of "Jonah" (like the writer of Jeremiah li. 34, 44) adopted a well-known Oriental mode of expression, based upon a solar myth.³ Bishop Ellicott, whom I meet with regret as an opponent, thinks this view dishonouring to the Bible. To the younger generation however who have felt the fascination of myths, the word which has dropped from the Bishop's pen in connection with myself,⁴ will appear strangely mis-

¹ Riehm, *Einleitung*, ii. 167 ("eine reine Dichtung").

² See *Theological Review*, 1877, pp. 211-219.

³ See my *Jeremiah*, vol. ii. (1885), pp. 293, 294, and my *Job and Solomon* (1887), pp. 76, 77 (where allusions to the Babylonian myth of the struggle between Marduk (Merodach) and the dragon Tiāmat are pointed out). In Jer. li. 34, 44, which very possibly furnished the author of "Jonah" with the basis of his story, it is Israel whom Nebuchadrezzar "hath swallowed up like the dragon."

⁴ *Christus Comprobator*, p. 186.

placed. They will be well pleased at the discovery that the story of Jonah (like that of Esther) contains an element of mythic symbol. They will reverence its writer as one of those inspired men who could convert mythic and semi-mythic stories and symbols into vehicles of spiritual truth. Dr. Driver, it is true, is not on my side here. He timidly refers to the allegoric theory, without himself adopting it, and even without mentioning how I have completed the theory by explaining the allegoric machinery. Still, what Dr. Driver does say (p. 302) as to the aim of the Book of Jonah is in itself excellent, and may, without violence, be attached to the mythic-allegoric theory. The story of Jonah did in fact teach the Jews "that God's purposes of grace are not limited to Israel alone, but are open to the heathen as well, if only they abandon their sinful courses, and turn to Him in true penitence." And I think these words may be illustrated and confirmed by a passage from my own discussion of the relation of the Jewish Church to heathen races.

"The author [of Jonah] belongs to that freer and more catholic school, which protested against a too legalistic spirit, and he fully recognises (see Jonah iv. 2) that the doctrine of Joel ii. 12 applies not merely to Israel, but to all nations. He is aware too that Israel (typified by Jonah "the dove") cannot evade its missionary duty, and that its preaching should be alike of mercy and of justice."¹

There still remain Micah and Zechariah. Both books are treated with great fulness, and with results which fairly represent the present state of opinion. I would gladly quote from both sections, but especially from that on Micah. On Micah iv. 10 the author agrees with me that the words, "and thou shalt go even to Babylon," are an interpolation. This is a brave admission, though the author does not

¹ *Bampton Lectures for 1889*, pp. 294-5. Why is Israel called Jonah? Because Israel's true ideal is to be like, not the eagle, but the dove. See my note on Ps. lxxviii. 14 (end), and comp. a beautiful passage in *Links and Clues*, p. 113.

recognise the consequence which follows from this for the criticism of Isaiah xxxix. 6, 7.¹ On Micah vi., vii. (later additions), able as the author's criticisms are, they are lacking in firmness. In the Zechariah section, the great result is attained, that not only Zechariah i.-viii., but also Zechariah ix.-xi., and xii.-xiv., come to us from post-Exilic times. Not that Dr. Driver, like another able philologist, Professor G. Hoffmann,² goes back to the old view of the unity of authorship—a plurality of authors is evidently implied by his remarks. Nor yet that he accepts the somewhat radical theory of Stade, published in his *Zeitschrift* in 1881-82. He holds that in Zechariah ix.-xi. we have a post-Exilic prophecy, which was modified in details, and accommodated to a later situation by a writer who lived well on in the post-Exilic period. This is substantially the view which I have already put forward and to which Kuenen has independently given his high authority. Nor ought I to pass over the fact that though Stade has done more than any one for the spread of a similar view, my own theory was expounded at length by myself in 1879, in a paper read before the Taylerian Society, and briefly summarized in the same year in print in the *Theological Review*.³ Dr. Driver is so kind as to refer to this paper, which only lately reached publication. For this I thank him. There is too little recognition of work done by Englishmen in darker days, before criticism began to be fashionable. But the greater becomes my regret at Dr.

¹ Nothing in Dillmann's note on Isaiah, l.c., affects the main points urged in my own commentary. For my matured opinion on Micah iv. 10, and a vindication of its essential reverence, see my note in the small Cambridge edition of Micah.

² *Hiob* (1891), p. 84, note.

³ See *Theological Review*, 1879, p. 284; *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1882, pp. 76-88. I must add that Professor Robertson Smith said in 1881 that he had long held Zechariah xii.-xiv. to be post-Exilic, and that Stade had convinced him that Zechariah ix.-xii. was of the same period (*The Prophets of Israel*, p. 412).

Driver's neglect of similar work of mine, which also stands chronologically at the head of a movement, on Isaiah xl.-lxvi.¹

The remaining six chapters of the *Introduction* relate to the Kethubim or Hagiographa. May they be widely read, and stir up some students to give more attention to these precious monuments of the inspired Church-nation of Israel! Prefixed are some excellent pages on Hebrew poetry, in which some will miss a reference to Budde's important researches on the elegiac rhythm (the omission is repaired on p. 429). After this, we are introduced to the first of the Hagiographa, according to our Hebrew Bibles—the Book of Psalms. Surely there is no book in the Canon on which an Anglican Churchman and a member of a cathedral chapter may more reasonably be expected to throw some light than the Psalter. It must however be remembered that Dr. Driver's space is limited. He has only twenty-three pages—all too few to expound the facts and theories to which the Christian apologist has by degrees to accommodate himself. Let no one therefore quarrel with the author, if on the religious bearings of his criticism he withholds the help which some students will earnestly desire; and let it be also remembered that Dr. Driver is one of a band of scholars who supplement each other's work, and that every good special work on the Psalms which in any large degree deviates from tradition supplies (or should supply) some part of the apologetic considerations which are here necessarily omitted. He had only twenty-three pages! But how full these pages are of accurate and (under the circumstances) lucidly expounded facts! Nor is this all. His critical argument opens up very instructive glimpses of the actual condition of investigation. How difficult his

¹ I ought, however, to add that my articles receive a bare mention in the Addenda to Dr. Driver's second edition.

task was, I am perhaps well qualified to judge, and the regret which I feel at some undue hesitation in his criticism is as nothing to my pleasure at the large recognition of truth.

For there is in fact no subject on which it is so easy to go wrong as in the criticism of the Psalter. It is to be feared that English scholars in general do not take up the inquiry at the point to which it has been brought by previous workers.¹ Here, for instance, is Professor Sanday—that fine New Testament critic and catholic-minded theologian—expending twelve pages on the proof that the age of the Maccabees is the latest possible period for the completion of the Psalter, and then expressing a half-formed opinion on Maccabean Psalms; and these pages form part of a work designed as a guide to opinion on some current Biblical controversies.² And here is Professor Kirkpatrick, from whom as a Hebraist one hopes so much, entering on one of the most complicated critical inquiries without telling us clearly where he stands with regard to any of the other questions of the “higher criticism.”³ Other persons may find, in facts like these, nothing to

¹ The best general introduction to the Psalms is still Professor Robertson Smith's article “Psalms” in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1886). As a contrast see M. de Harlez's article on the age of the Psalms (*Dublin Review*, July, 1891)—a singular specimen of crude and fallacious criticism.

² Sanday, *The Oracles of God*, 2nd ed., pp. 129-140. I am, of course, only speaking of the appendix of this useful book.

³ See Kirkpatrick, *The Psalms: Book I.* (1891). Another work by Professor Kirkpatrick (*The Divine Library of the Old Testament*) just received, enables me to supplement the above remark. The book is written in a good spirit, and in a limpid style, and will be useful to many as a temporary compromise. Since however the author directly challenges me to speak, I must venture to say that I am not convinced of the maturity of his critical studies. On some parts of the Old Testament, indeed, he expresses himself in a not un-critical way. But it is only on Isaiah that anything like a date is given, Isaiah xl.-lxvi. being assigned to a prophet in Babylonia, near the close of the Exile. On the results of modern criticism of the Books of Samuel the author is still as silent as he was in his early work (*Samuel*, 2 vols., 1880-81). I am afraid that from these roots a healthy and mature historical criticism of the Psalms will but slowly spring.

regret. I confess that I do myself regret them very much. Criticism appears to me a historical and a European movement, and I am sure that this view is endorsed by the editors of this "international and interconfessional" series. But let me hasten to add that I do not feel this regret in reading Dr. Driver on the Psalms. He does not, indeed, tell us much about his method of research; the plan of his work forbade him to exhibit his results genetically. But on pages 360-362 he gives hints of great value to students, on which I will only offer this remark—that with all his love for the Hebrew language he cannot bring himself to say that the linguistic argument is a primary one (to this point I may return later). One thing at least is certain, that the author is not in that stage represented provisionally by Professor Kirkpatrick, when "internal evidence, whether of thought, or style, or language," seems to be "a precarious guide," and when the student who has become sceptical of the titles of the psalms feels that he is "launched upon a sea of uncertainty."¹

But to proceed to details. One of the most important things for Dr. Driver to bring out was the composite origin of the Psalter. At the very outset we are met by the fact that in the Hebrew Bible (comp. the Revised English Version) the Psalter is divided into five books. Four of these books are closed by a doxology, which Dr. Driver explains by the custom of Oriental authors and transcribers to close their work with a pious formula (p. 345). But how strange it is, on this theory, that the Psalter itself is *not* closed by such a formula, but only certain divisions of the Psalter! If the doxologies are expressions of personal piety, the fact that Psalm cl. is a liturgical song of praise constitutes no reason for the omission of a closing doxology. And when we examine the doxologies more closely, we find

¹ Kirkpatrick, *The Psalms : Book I.*, *Intro.*, p. xxxi.

that they all have a pronounced liturgical character.¹ This is of some consequence for the controversy with traditionalistic writers on the Psalms. Next comes the great fact of the existence of internal groups, marked by the headings; Dr. Driver sums up the best that has been said in a small space. On the titles he is somewhat tantalizing; a disproportionate amount of space is given to the demolition of the historical value of the title "To David" as a record of authorship. At least, my own feeling is that the small-print illustrations on pp. 353-355 could have been omitted, and that the author should have trusted to the natural impression of an honest reader of the Psalms. At any rate, no one who has followed Dr. Driver thus far can doubt that, in Prof. Robertson Smith's words, "not only are many of the titles certainly wrong, but they are wrong in such a way as to prove that they date from an age to which David was merely the abstract psalmist, and which had no idea whatever of the historical conditions of his age."

There are three points which I should have been specially glad to see mentioned. First, that the Septuagint differs considerably from the Hebrew text in its psalm-titles. A careful study of the Greek titles would be most illuminative to the ordinary student. Secondly, that in order properly to criticise the ascription of any particular psalm, the student must first of all obtain a historical view of the picture of David in different ages, beginning with that disclosed by a critical study of the Books of Samuel, and ending with that in the Books of Chronicles. More especially he must to some extent assimilate a free (but not therefore undevout) criticism of the two former books. Dr. Driver's work does not give as much help as could be wished in this respect, but his results on the "Davidic" psalms really presuppose a critical insight into the David-

¹ See *Bampton Lectures for 1889*, p. 457, and cf. Abbott, *Essays on the Original Texts* (1891), p. 222.

narratives. And thirdly, something should, I think, have been said about the titles of Psalms vii. and xviii;—of the former, because conservative scholars maintain that the mention of the otherwise unknown "Cush" proves the great antiquity of the title, or at any rate of the tradition embodied therein,¹ and of the latter, because of its unusual fulness, and because the psalm occurs again in a somewhat different reunion with almost exactly the same title near the end of the second Book of Samuel, which latter circumstance has been supposed greatly to increase the probability of the accuracy of the title.² With regard to the former title, it ought to be admitted that "Cush" is no Hebrew proper name; there must be a corruption in the text.³ With regard to the latter, it can hardly be doubted that it comes from some lost narrative of the life of David, which on critical grounds can hardly be placed earlier than the reign of Josiah.⁴ (There seems to be no reason for thinking that the editor of the "Davidic" psalter took it from Samuel).

The result of the argument against the universal accuracy of the title "To David" is thus summed up by Dr. Driver:—

¹ So Delitzsch, followed by Prof. Kirkpatrick.

² M. de Harlez thinks that "if we choose to look upon the testimony of 2 Kings (Sam.) xxii. as false, then the whole Bible must be a gigantic falsehood, and there is no use troubling ourselves about it" (*Dubl. Rev.*, July, 1891, p. 76).

³ Cornill (*Eint.*, p. 208) proposes to read "Cushi" (following Sept.'s *Χουσι*); but the episode of "Cushi" (see 2 Sam. xviii.) was surely most unlikely to have been thought of. The corruption must lie deeper. "A Benjamite" certainly looks as if intended to introduce a person not previously known (otherwise, as Delitzsch remarks, we should have "*the* Benjamite"). But such a person would be sure to have his father's or some ancestor's name given. The Targum substitutes for Cush, "Saul, the son of Kish." But Saul is a well-known person, and elsewhere in the titles has no appendage to his name. Shimei, who reviled David, might be thought of, but he is called (2 Sam. xix. 16) "Shimei, son of Gera, *the* Benjamite." The conjecture adopted in *Bampt. Lect.*, pp. 229-248 alone remains. "Targum sheni" on Esther expressly credits David with a prevision of Mordecai (cf. Cassel, *Esther*, p. 299). I hesitate between this conjecture and the preceding one.

⁴ Cf. *Bampt. Lect.*, p. 206 (foot).

"Every indication converges to the same conclusion, viz., that the 'Davidic' psalms spring, in fact, from many different periods of Israelitish history, from the period of David himself downwards; and that in the varied words which they reflect . . . they set before us the experiences of many men, and of many ages of the national life" (p. 355).

It is however scarcely possible to say that this inference is logical. It is, of course, an idea which involuntarily suggests itself at the point which Dr. Driver's argument has reached, but it is not a legitimate "conclusion" from the data which have as yet been brought forward, and to dally with it disturbs the mind, which henceforth has to contend with a conscious or unconscious bias. The author however still strives hard to reason fairly. "The majority of the 'Davidic' psalms," he says, "are thus certainly not David's; is it possible to determine whether any are his?" (p. 355).

He then examines the evidence respecting David's musical and poetical talents. Here he is less tender to conservatism than I should have expected. He gives no testimony to David's composition of religious poetry earlier than the Chronicler¹ (about 300 B.C.); it is only later on, in connexion with criteria of David's poetical style, that the poems in 2 Samuel xxii. (=Ps. xviii.) and xxiii. 1-7 are referred to. He says, too, that even if David did compose liturgical poems, this would not account for his authorship of more than a very few of the "Davidic" psalms, most of the psalms ascribed to David not being adapted (at least in the first instance) for public worship. This remark seems not very cogent, especially when limited by what is said afterwards respecting the "representative character" of many psalms. What we really want, is something that Dr. Driver could not, consistently with his plan, give us;

¹ At first I wrongly inferred from this that Dr. Driver regarded the poems in 2 Sam. xxii. and xxiii. as post-Exilic, which is at least a plausible view (see Cornill, *Eisal.*, p. 119).

viz., a statement of the grounds on which psalms similar to those which we possess can (or cannot) be supposed to have existed prior to the regenerating activity of Isaiah and his fellow-prophets (if indeed they can historically be imagined at all in the pre-Exilic period).¹ That admirable scholar, Dr. A. B. Davidson, whom I respect even when I cannot follow him, will no doubt supply the omission in his *Old Testament Theology*.

One group of interesting facts is relegated by the author to a footnote (pp. 356, 357). Among the Jews who returned from Babylon in B.C. 536, the contemporary register (Neh. vii. 44 = Ezra ii. 46) includes 148 (128) "sons of Asaph, singers" (they are distinguished from "the Levites"). On the other hand, there is no allusion whatever to a special class of temple-singers in the pre-Exilic narratives. It seems to follow that the official singers cannot have been very prominent before the Exile. I should like to have seen this more developed; the footnote will be obscure to some readers. But of course the strength of the argument for the late date of the psalms is wholly apart from "doubtful disputations" respecting pre-Exilic music and singing. I will only add that Jeremiah xxxiii. 11 ought hardly to have been quoted as an evidence for the early existence of a class of singers (for those who blessed Jehovah were not necessarily temple-officers), but in relation to the probable contents of pre-Exilic psalms.

Dr. Driver's remarks on Ewald's *æsthetic* criteria of really Davidic psalms are on the whole very just. But how strange it is that after admitting that we have no tolerably sure standard for David's poetry outside the psalter except 2 Samuel i. 19-27 and iii. 33, 34 he should close the paragraph thus,—

¹ That there are no psalms of Jeremiah has lately been shown afresh by W. Campe (1891). Dr. Driver's judgment (p. 360) might be more decided.

"On the whole, a *non liquet* must be our verdict; it is possible that Ewald's list of Davidic psalms is too large, but it is not clear that none of the psalms contained in it are of David's composition."

Surely here Dr. Driver is not untouched by the spirit of compromise. The reader will, I hope, not misunderstand me. I mean that in his desire to help those whose spiritual faith is (unfortunately) bound up with an intellectual belief in Davidic psalms he sometimes sympathizes with them more than is good for his critical judgment, and I wish, not that his desire to help were diminished, but that he could adopt a "more excellent way" of helping. Dr. Sanday works, I imagine, in the same spirit, and consequently "rests for the moment in temporary hypotheses and half-way positions, prepared to go either forwards or backwards as the case may be," and disposed to idealize Dr. Driver's hesitations and inconsistencies as "the combined open-mindedness and caution which are characteristic of a scholar."¹ I respect Dr. Sanday very highly, but I have an uncomfortable suspicion that his language helps to foster the "undesirable illusions" to which I referred in Part I. I hope that it may not be thought unreasonable if I decline either to "go backwards" or to adopt a "half-way position" until it has been shown that the hypothesis of Davidic elements in the Psalter has any practical value. Unless Books I. and II. date from the age before Amos, any Davidic elements which they contain² must have been so modified as to be practically unrecognisable. To analyse the Psalms with the view of detecting Davidic passages would be the most hopeless of undertakings. David may have indited religious songs; but how far removed was David's religion from that of the Psalms! The song of Deborah is perhaps not alone the highest thoughts of David; but can it be said that the tone of this poem approaches

¹ Sanday, *The Oracles of God*, pp. 141, 143.

² Cf. *Bampt. Lect.*, p. 193.

the spirituality of the Psalms? I think therefore that Dr. Driver's verdict is premature. It would have been safer from his point of view to say, "It is not clear that some of the Psalms may not be pre-Exilic, and that even post-Exilic Psalms may not contain unrecognisable Davidic fragments."

But why all this eagerness to rescue a small Davidic Psalter within the undoubtedly much larger non-Davidic one? Was it David who founded the higher religion of Israel? Surely, as Professor Robertson Smith in his article on the Psalms has remarked, "whether any of the older poems really are David's is a question more curious than important." For the question of questions is, *To what period or periods does the collection of the Psalters within the Psalter belong?* For what period in the religious history of Israel may we use the Psalter as an authority? This was what I had chiefly in view when I prefixed an inquiry into the origin of the Psalter to a sketch of the theology of the psalmist. I cannot find that any help is given to the student of this subject in the *Introduction*, and this is one of the points in which this valuable chapter appears to me to fail. Nor can I express myself as satisfied with Dr. Driver's remarks on the means, which we have of approximately fixing the periods of the Psalms. I can divine from it that there is much which enters into a full discussion of this subject upon which Dr. Driver and I would at present differ. Nor can I content myself either with the author's neutrality on Psalm cxviii., or with his vague remarks on Psalm cx., that "though it may be ancient, it can hardly have been composed by David,"¹ and

¹ These words are from the footnote on pp. 362, 363. In the text it is said that Psalm cx. "may be presumed to be pre-Exilic." I cannot but regret the misplaced moderation of the words "can hardly have been composed by David," and the deference to a tradition admitted to be weak in the extreme which expresses itself in the "presumption" that the psalm is pre-Exilic. I can enter into the reasoning so skilfully indicated in the reference to Jer. xxx. 21,

that "the cogency of [Christ's] argument (in Mark xii." 35-37) is unimpaired, as long as it is recognised that the psalm is a Messianic one," or with the remark (p. 367) on the accommodation of individualistic psalms to liturgical use by slight changes in the phraseology.¹

On the other hand I am much gratified to find that Dr. Driver accepts the theory that Psalm li. is "a confession written on behalf of the nation by one who had a deep sense of his people's sin." That he adds "during the Exile" is comparatively unimportant; on the main point he accepts my own view already expressed in *The Book of Psalms* (1888). His arguments are identical with those which I have myself repeatedly urged.² The only objection which I have to make relates to his treatment of verse 5, but as I have put it forward already in *THE EXPOSITOR*, 1892 (2), p. 398, I will here only express the conviction that the Church-nation theory can, without violence, be applied

but what this naturally leads up to is—not that the psalm refers to an actual pre-Exilic king, but that it is a thoroughly idealistic lyric prophecy of the early post-Exilic period, when both psalmists and prophets devoted themselves largely to the development of earlier prophetic ideas. The author follows Riehm in the stress which he lays on Jer. xxx. 21, but significantly omits Riehm's second reference (*Messianic Prophecy*, pp. 121, 284) to Zech. 'iii. vi. I must also express my regret at his useless attempt to soften opposition by a necessarily vague description of the contents of the psalm. Such a description can be made to suit any theory, as Dr. Gifford (the eminent commentator on Romans) has shown, by basing upon it the conclusion "that the whole course of thought" favours the old theory of the Davidic authorship of the psalm. The whole footnote, in its present form, seems to me out of place; it fosters unfortunate illusions. One result is that Dr. Driver is praised for his weak as well as for his strong points, and another that many theologians will not give a patient hearing to a scholar who cannot adopt Dr. Driver's manner. If Dr. Gifford, for instance, had read the notes to my *Bampton Lectures*, he would have been enabled (from note ^{hh} p. 39) to correct his own hasty criticism of a well-weighed statement (see *The Authorship of the 110th Psalm*, by E. H. Gifford, D.D., Oxford, 1891, p. 9). I could also wish that he had noticed a careful statement of Dr. Driver (in Sanday's *The Oracles of God*, p. 142), which bears strongly *against* even the relative antiquity of Ps. cx.

¹ Similarly Stekhoven, on whom see *Bampt. Lect.*, p. 277.

² Most recently in sermon-studies on Ps. li., which will be included in *Aids to Study* (see above, p. 111, note).

throughout the psalm. I know how much untrained English common sense has to say against it, but I think it quite possible by a few historical and exegetical hints to make common sense agree entirely with the experts. We must however make it perfectly clear that the person who speaks in the 51st and other psalms is not a mere rhetorical collective expression for a number of individuals, but that complete living organism of which Isaiah said, "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart faint."¹

T. K. CHEYNE.

¹ See *Bampt. Lect.*, pp. 261-265, 276-278.

(To be concluded.)

DR. DRIVER'S INTRODUCTION TO THE OLD
TESTAMENT LITERATURE.

PART III.

I SAID in Part II. that Dr. Driver would have done well to make his *non liquet* refer, not to Davidic, but to pre-Exilic psalms. There are in fact, as it appears to me, two tenable (though not two equally tenable) views. According to one, we may still have some pre-Exilic psalms (including those which refer to a king, and some at least of the persecution-Psalms), a few Exilic (*e.g.* Pss. xxii., li., cii.), and also a considerable number of post-Exilic Psalms (including a few Maccabean Psalms, and at any rate Pss. xlv., lxxiv., lxxix).¹ This was the view which I adopted not as critical truth but as a working hypothesis, when preparing that commentary on the Psalms (1888) which has been so strangely overlooked by nearly all the reviewers of my *Bampton Lectures*. It is the very view now independently adopted by Dr. Driver, which indicates that in his more special study of the Psalms he has now reached the point which I had reached in 1888. At this I rejoice, for I am confident that the view which was only a working hypothesis to me in 1886 is no more than this to Dr. Driver in 1891. He cannot go backward—this were to deny facts; he can only go on to the second of the two views mentioned, viz. that the whole of the

¹ Some of those who have reviewed my *Bampton Lectures* have accused me of having treated the external evidence which has been thought to be adverse to the theory of Maccabean psalms and the objections drawn from the Septuagint Psalter too slightly. The view which these scholars take of the present position of Psalm criticism is however entirely different from my own and from that taken by competent scholars abroad (see Mühlmann, *Zur Frage der makk. Psalmen*, 1891, p. 3). Nor, so far as I can judge, is it that of Prof. Driver.

Psalter, in its present form, with the possible exception of Ps. xviii.; is post-Exilic. Just as Cornill thought in 1881 that the 24th and probably other Psalms were Davidic, and that Psalms lxxxiv., lxxxv., xlii., xliii., were of the reign of Jehoiakim, but by 1891 had come to see that the whole Psalter (except perhaps Psalm lxxxix.) was post-Exilic,¹ so it will probably be with Dr. Driver, however much he may modify his view by qualifications.² It is the latter theory of which I have myself for the first time offered a comprehensive justification. Caution and sobriety were as much needed for this as for any other critical task, nor would the want of ability to enter into the feelings of a psalmist (*nachempfinden*) and to realize his historical situation have been at all a helpful qualification. The result is doubtless capable of large improvement in detail, but in the fundamental points can hardly be modified.³

Does this latter theory differ essentially, or only in secondary points, from that of Dr. Driver? Only in secondary points. I made no leap in the dark when I

¹ Cf. his essay in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift*, 1831, pp. 337-343 with § 36 of his *Einleitung* (1891).

² I do not think that he will find that much is gained by insisting on an ancient basis which has been obscured by editors. If it helps any one to believe in such a basis, by all means let him do so; it is more harmless than in the case of the Book of Daniel. But the chief object of the criticism of the psalms is to determine the date when they became known in substantially their present form. It appears to me that in all probability the editors mainly concerned themselves with the omission of passages which had too temporary a reference. In two (presumably) Maccabean psalms—lxxiv. and cx.—there certainly seem to be some omissions; in Psalm lxxiv. there may also be a fresh insertion (vv. 12-17).

³ It is difficult to reply as one would wish to a series of criticisms made from a different and perhaps a narrower point of view, especially when such criticisms deal largely with subordinate points which are not essential to the main theory. When the next English dissertation on the origin of the Psalter appears, it will at any rate be compelled to make considerable use of hypothesis, or it will be a failure. Prof. Davison (in the *Thinker*, Feb., 1892) does not seem to recognise this. To him and to Prof. Kennedy (two of the most courteous of my critics) I have given an imperfect reply in the *Thinker* for April; to Prof. Kennedy also in the *Expository Times* for the same month.

prepared my *Lectures*, nor will Dr. Driver be conscious of any abrupt transition, when he finds opportunity to advance further. The essential of both views is the recognition of the impossibility of proving that any psalm in its present form is pre-Exilic. "Of many Psalms," adds Dr. Driver, "the Exilic or post-Exilic date is manifest, and is not disputed; of others it is difficult to say whether they are pre- or post-Exilic" (p. 362). Whichever view be adopted, it must be allowed that even Books I. and II. were put forth *after the Return*. This is not expressly mentioned by Dr. Driver, and, as I have said, it seems to me a regrettable omission. But though not mentioned, it is not, nor can it be, denied. I venture to put this before those theological reviewers who, in their needless anxiety for the ark of God, have hurried to the conclusion that the author has "rejected Dr. Cheyne's sweeping criticism of the Psalms," and that the "net result" set forth by the author on pp. 362, 363 is "very different from that which Dr. Cheyne has given us,"¹ and to express the hope that they may perceive the error into which they have fallen, and begin to suspect that it is not the only one.

We are now come to Proverbs and Job, and nowhere perhaps does one feel more strongly the imperfection of Dr. Driver's plan. It is true, what was most desirable was not yet feasible—a thorough and *comprehensive* study of the contents and origin of the Wisdom-literature, which would furnish results at once surer and more definite than the old-fashioned Introductions can give. But I think that more might have been done than has been done to show the threads which connect the products of this style of writing, and to anticipate the results which a critic of insight and courage could not fail to reach. But alas! Dr. Driver has not thrown off that spirit of deference to conservatism which,

¹ See *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1892, p. 343; *Guardian*, Dec. 2nd, 1891, p. 1953.

if I am not mistaken, injures his work elsewhere. At the very outset the tradition respecting Solomon in 1 Kings iv. 29-34 receives no critical examination, and though the headings in Proverbs x. 1, xxv. 1¹ are not unconditionally accepted, Dr. Driver speaks notwithstanding as if some of the Proverbs in two of the greater collections might possibly be the work of Solomon. This is hardly the way to cultivate the critical spirit in young students, and (against the author's will) may foster an unjust prejudice against critics not less careful, but perhaps less compromising than the author. As to the conclusions here offered, I feel that while censure would be impertinent, praise would be misleading. The "present condition of investigation" is only indicated in a few lines of a footnote (p. 381), and the "way for future progress" is not even allusively mentioned. It appears to me that criticism ought to start not from the worthless tradition of Solomonic authorship, but from the fact that the other proverbial books in the Old Testament are with increasing certainty seen to be later than 538 B.C. Now what does Ben Sira tell us about his own work?

"I too, as the last, bestowed zeal,
And as one who gleaneth after the vintage;
By the blessing of the Lord I was the foremost,
And as a grape-gatherer did I fill my winepress."
—(Ecclus. xxxiii. 16.)

Who were Ben Sira's predecessors, and when did they live? The writers of Proverbs xxx. and xxxi. 1-9 and 10-31, and of the gnomic sayings (or some of them) in Koheleth may be among them; but surely there were more productive writers or editors than these (so far as we know them from their writings). The force of the arguments against a post-Exilic date for the final arrangement of our composite Book of Proverbs seems to me to be constantly

¹ Note that Sept. does not give the former heading at all, and has no "also" in the latter.

increasing, and were I to resume the work laid aside in 1887, I feel that my results would be nearer to those of Reuss and Stade (adopted by Mr. Montefiore) than to those of Delitzsch.¹ I am not indeed prepared to give up a large antique basis² for chaps. xxv.-xxvii., the proverbs in which, as Prof. Davidson has pointed out, differ on the whole considerably in style from those in x. 1-xxii. 16. But not only chaps. xxx. and xxxi., but the passages forming the "Praise of Wisdom," and the introductory verses of the redactor (i. 1-6), are altogether post-Exilic (not of course contemporary), and so too, probably, is much of the rest of the book. Indeed however much allowance is made for the tenacity of the life of proverbs, and for the tendency to recast old gnomic material, one must maintain that in its present form the Book of Proverbs is a source of information, not for the pre-Exilic, but for various parts of the post-Exilic period.³ I will only add that Dr. Driver may perhaps modify his view of the gradual formation of Proverbs in deference to recent researches of Gustav Bickell.⁴

The chapter on Job is a skilful exhibition of views which are well deserving of careful study. It is evidently much influenced by a book of which I too have the highest appreciation—Prof. Davidson's volume on Job in the Cambridge series (comp. his article "Job" in the *Encycl. Brit.*). If

¹ In my article "Isaiah" (*Ency. Brit.*, 1889) I expressed the view that the "Praise of Wisdom" is either Exilic or post-Exilic; in my *Job and Solomon* (1887) I dated it earlier. But, as *Bampt. Lect.*, p. 365, shows, I have been coming back to my former view of Prov. i.-ix., and taking a survey of Proverbs from this fixed point, I see that the difficulties of Reuss's and Stade's view (when duly qualified) are less than those of my own former and of Dr. Driver's present theory. Comp. Mr. Montefiore's thorough and interesting article on Proverbs, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 1890, pp. 430-453.

² The heading in xxv. 1 reminds one of Assyrian library notes. Isa. xxxviii. 9 may rest on a tradition of Hezekiah's interest in books.

³ In this connection I may refer to my notes on the Persian affinities of the "Wisdom" of Prov. viii., *Expositor*, Jan., 1892, p. 79.

⁴ See the *Wiener Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 1891-1892 (chiefly important for the metrical study of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiasticus).

therefore I object to it, it can only be in the most friendly manner, and on the same grounds on which I have already criticised that beautiful textbook.¹ I must however add that I think Dr. Driver should have taken some steps in advance of a book published in 1884. Both he and Dr. Davidson have a way of stopping short in the most provoking manner. At the very outset, for instance, they compromise rather more than is strictly critical on the subject of the historical existence of Job.² It is true, we ought not, without strong grounds to presume that the plot of the poem is purely romantic, Semitic writers preferring to build on tradition as far as they can. But to use the words "history" and "historical tradition" of the main features of the Job story is misleading, unless we are also bold enough to apply these terms to the pathetic Indian story of Harischandra in vol. i. of Muir's *Sanskrit Texts*. No doubt there were current stories, native or borrowed, of the sudden ruin of a righteous man's fortunes; but if we had them, we should see that they were not historical, but simple folk-tales, which, to a student of natural psychology, are surely better than what we call history. On this however I have said enough elsewhere;³ so I will pass on to one of the great critical questions—that of the integrity of the Book.

Here Dr. Driver is not very satisfactory. It is true, he thinks it "all but certain" (why this hesitation?) that the Elihu-speeches are a later insertion, which, considering his conservatism on Isaiah xl.-lxvi., is a concession of much value. But he unfortunately ignores even the mildest of

¹ *Academy*, Nov. 1, 1884.

² Among minor matters connected with the Prologue, these may be noted. I see no explanation of the name of Job, and for the meaning of the "land of Uz" miss a reference to W. R. Smith, *Kinship in Arabia*, p. 261. A hint might also have been given of the appearance of a legend of "three kings" from the East (Job ii. 11, Sept.).

³ *Job and Solomon*, pp. 62, 290.

those critical theories, of which a wiser critic (in my opinion) speaks thus in an American review¹ :—

“ If we are not mistaken, a much better case could be made out for a theory of many authors than for the theory of one [or of two]. As the name of David attracted successive collections of Psalms, and the name of Solomon successive collections of Proverbs, why may not the name of Job have attracted various treatments of the problems of suffering righteousness?”

Why not, indeed, if the evidence points, as it does, in this direction? And my complaint is not that Dr. Driver does not adopt this or that particular theory, but that he fails to recognise a number of exegetical facts. He approaches the Book of Job, as it seems to me, with the preconceived idea that it left the author's hand as a finished and well-rounded composition. This idea is no doubt natural enough, but is hardly consistent with the results of criticism in other parts of the Old Testament and in other literatures. As has been well said by the authors of the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, “ The great books of old time are accretions; our Psalter is such a one, Homer is such a one, the Sagas are such a one.” Ewald, who began by believing in the unity of Genesis, found out that this unity was factitious; may it not very naturally be so with a poem, which, like the dialogues in Job, prompted to imitation and to contradiction? Dr. Driver's able forerunner has indeed justified his own reluctance to disintegrate by his desire to enjoy the poem as much as he can. He can sympathize, he tells us, with those persons who are “ so intoxicated with the beauty of a great creation, that they do not care a whit how it arose.”² But he forgets that the true writer is not a mere dissector, but analyzes in order to reconstruct. Nor can it be said that the Book of Job as it stands is a great work of art. I know all that can be said on the difference between Eastern and Western art,

¹ Review of Genung's *Epic of the Inner Life* in *The Nation*, Aug. 27th, 1891.

² Davidson, *Expositor*, 1893, p. 88.

and between Eastern and Western psychology ; but the difference must not be pressed to an extreme. I am willing to admit—indeed, I did in 1887 expressly admit—that the six accretions indicated in my *Job and Solomon* (pp. 67–69), need not have come from as many different writers. The Elihu-speeches, however, which are the most obvious of the accretions, cannot have come from the writer of the Dialogues (though Kamphausen once thought so). Nor, as it would seem, can the Epilogue. I grant that the author of the Dialogues prefixed to his work not only chap. iii., but also chaps. i. and ii. But I cannot believe that he meant xlii. 7–17 to be the *dénouement* of the story ;—that hypothesis at least no ingenuity can render plausible. “The only possible close of the poem, if the writer is not untrue to his deepest convictions, is that the Satan should confess before Jehovah and the court of heaven that there are ‘perfect and upright’ men who serve God without interested motives.”¹ Such at least is still my own opinion. That we do not now find such a close, only proves either (what we knew before) that the original poem has not come down to us intact, or that the Book of Job, like that of Koheleth, was left in an unfinished state by the author.

Whether the other passages were, or were not, added by the author is to some extent an open question. It seems to me extremely hazardous to suppose that the writer went on retouching his own work, but this is the only possible course for those who hold out against the view, which for some at least of the added passages I cannot help advocating. But at any rate one thing is certain, viz. that even after removing the speeches of Elihu, the Book of Job does not form a genuine whole—that some of the original passages have been retouched and new ones added. That eminent critic Dillmann, who in spite of himself continually

¹ *Critical Review*, May, 1891, p. 253 (the present writer's review of Hoffmann's *Hiob*).

makes such gratifying concessions to younger scholars, is in the main point on my side,¹ and so are all the chief workers in this department. Against me, as I have good cause to know, there stands arrayed the host of English theological reviewers. But how many of these have made a serious critical study of the Book of Job? How many have even read carefully—much less worked at—any critical work in which the unity of Job is denied, and have assimilated the *positive* side of a disintegrating theory? I complain of my friend Dr. Driver because, with the best intentions, he has made it *more difficult* for ordinary students to come to the knowledge of important facts, and made it possible for a thoroughly representative, and in some respects not illiberal, writer in a leading Anglican review to use language which must, I fear, be qualified as both unseemly and misleading.²

And what has the author to say on the date of the poem, or rather since the poem has, by his own admission, been added to, on the date of the original work and of the Elihu-speeches? To answer that the latter were added by “a somewhat later writer” is, I think, only defensible if the original poem be made post-Exilic. For surely, if anything has grown clearer of late years, it is that the language and ideas of “Elihu” are those of some part of the post-Exilic period.

The new edition of Dillmann's *Hiob* may be taken as evidence of this. He still makes the original poem pre-Exilic (though nearer to B.C. 586 than formerly), but whereas in 1869 he thought that the Elihu-speeches “might have been written in the course of the sixth century” (*i.e.* possibly before the Return), in 1891 he tells us that they are probably to be assigned to the fifth century. As to the

¹ See Dillmann, *Hiob* (1891), *Einl.*, p. xxviii., and cf. his remarks on the controverted passages in the course of the book.

² *Guardian*, Dec. 2, 1891.

original poem, our author states (as I did myself in 1887) that—

“It will scarcely be earlier than the age of Jeremiah, and belongs most probably to the period of the Babylonian captivity.”¹

Both Dillmann and Dr. Briggs favour the former date; Umbreit, Knobel, Grätz, and Prof. Davidson the latter. Gesenius also prefers an Exilic date, but will not deny the possibility of a still later one. And it is a post-Exilic date which many critics (*e.g.* Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, Hoffmann,² Cornill) are in our day inclined to accept. Ought not this to have been mentioned? I feel myself that in the present position of the criticism of the Hagiographa a post-Exilic date has acquired a greater degree of plausibility.³ If, for instance, the Book of Proverbs is in the main a composite post-Exilic work, it becomes at once in a higher degree probable that the Book of Job is so too.

¹ Prof. Bissell, I observe, hopes to prove a considerably earlier date *by the help of Glaser's discoveries in Arabia* (*Presbyterian and Reformed Review*, Oct., 1891). He refers to Prof. Sayce. I trust that Prof. Whitehouse will be more cautious (see *Critical Review*, Jan., 1892, p. 12).

² Prof. G. Hoffmann's arguments (*Hiob*, 1891) do not perhaps materially advance the discussion, though his book ought to have been referred to by our author. His linguistic proposals are too violent, and his references to Zoroastrianism do not show enough study. Nor am I sure that he has added much of value to the argument from parallel passages. On the latter I venture to add these remarks for comparison with Dr. Driver's valuable section (p. 408). On the parallels between Job and the probably or certainly Exilic parts of ii. Isaiah it is difficult to speak confidently. Nor need we perhaps consider the Prologue of Job to be indebted to Zech. iii.; the modes of representation used were “in the air” in the post-Exilic period. And as to the parallel adduced by Cornill (*Eintl.*, p. 234) between Job xlii. 17 and Gen. xxxv. 29, xxv. 8 (both P), this, if admitted as important, will only affect the date of the Epilogue. Then we turn to the Psalms, the Song of Hezekiah, and the Lamentations. It would be difficult indeed to say that Isa. xxxviii. 10–20, or that Ps. xxxix. and lxxxviii. were not written in the same period as Job, and these works can, I believe, be shown to be post-Exilic. If this seems doubtful to any one, yet Ps. viii. 5 “is no doubt parodied in Job vii. 17” (Driver), and there is no reason for not grouping Ps. viii. with the Priestly Code. I admit that Lam. iii. is, by the same right as Ps. lxxxviii., to be viewed as in a large sense contemporary with Job (see Delitzsch, *Hiob*, p. 24). But what is the date of the Lamentations? See farther on.

³ Comp. *Bampt. Lect.*, p. 202.

It is still of course a question to be argued out in detail; there is no escaping from the discipline of hard and minute investigation. But, so far as I can see, the evidence collected, when viewed in the light of general probabilities, and of the results attained and being attained elsewhere, justifies us in asserting that the whole of the Book of Job belongs most probably to the Persian period. On linguistic grounds¹ I should like to put the main part of the Book in the first half of this period, and the Elihu-speeches in the second, but these grounds are not by themselves decisive.

A word must here be said on a subject which will be in the mind of many readers. These critical results must have some bearing on theories of inspiration. But what bearing? I have an uneasy feeling that the remark on page 405—that “precisely the same inspiration attaches to [the Elihu-speeches] which attaches to the poem generally”—is hardly penetrating enough, and that by such a half-truth Dr. Driver has unwisely blunted the edge of his critical decision. Of course, the Elihu-speeches *are* inspired; they are touched by the same religious influences which pervades all the genuine Church records of the Exilic or post-Exilic period which are contained in the Hagiographa. But it can hardly be said that these speeches have the same *degree* of inspiration as the rest of the Book of Job, at least if the general impression of discriminating readers may be trusted. The creator of “Elihu” may have some deeper ideas, but he has not as capacious a vessel to receive them as the older poet.² And though it may be true that he had a good motive, and that the course which he took was sanctioned by the religious authorities

¹ These grounds are briefly indicated by Dr. Driver on p. 404 (sect. 8) and p. 406 (top); cf. my *Job and Solomon*, pp. 291–295. Besides Budde's *Beiträge*, Stickel (*Hieb*, 1842, pp. 248–262) still deserves to be consulted on the Elihu-portion.

² See *Job and Solomon*, pp. 42–44.

of the day, yet it is certain both that he has defects from which the earlier writer is free, and that he has for modern readers greatly hindered the beneficial effect of the rest of the poem. We must not, in short, force ourselves to reverence these two poets in an equal degree.

I admit that the difficulties which theories of inspiration have to encounter in the Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes, and Esther are still greater, and I think that Dr. Driver would have facilitated the reception of his critical results on these books if he had at once taken up a strong position with reference to those difficulties. It might even have been enough to quote a luminous passage from a lecture by Prof. Robertson Smith,¹ the upshot of which is that these three books "which were still disputed among the orthodox Jews in the apostolic age, and to which the New Testament never makes reference,"² and, let me add, which do not seem to be touched by the special religious influences referred to above, are not for us Christians in the truest sense of the word canonical.³ These books however are intensely interesting, and a "frank and reverent study of the texts" shows that they "have their use and value even for us," and my only regret is that in Esther and Ecclesiastes, at any rate, Dr. Driver is slightly more "moderate" than was necessary, and that he does not make it quite as easy as it might have been for some of his readers to agree with him.

I pass to a book in which I have long had so special an interest that it will require an effort to be brief—the glorious Song of Songs. Our author rejects the old alle-

¹ *The Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, pp. 174, 175; cf. Wildeboer, *Die Entstehung des alttest. Kanons* (1891), pp. 150, 152.

² See however Trench, *Seven Churches of Asia*, pp. 225, 226.

³ Of the Song of Songs, Lowth, writing to Warburton in 1756, says: "If you deny that it is an allegory, you must exclude it from the Canon of Holy Scripture; for it holds its place there by no other tenure" (Warburton's *Works*, by Hurd, xii. 458).

gorical interpretation as artificial and extravagant (p. 423), but does not regard Delitzsch's modification of it as untenable, provided it be admitted that there is nothing in the poem itself to suggest it. His meaning, I presume, is this—that the Song is only allegorical in so far as all true marriage to a religious mind is allegorical,¹ but that we cannot suppose the poet to have thought of this allegory when he wrote, and that, his own meaning being so beautiful, it is almost a pity to look beyond it. Dr. Driver's treatment of the Song is marked by much reserve. He does indeed commit himself to the lyrical drama theory, without considering whether the poet may not to some extent have worked up current popular songs (just as Poliziano did in Medicæan Florence); and though he puts two forms of this theory (Delitzsch's and Ewald's) very thoroughly before the reader, he evidently prefers the latter, with some modifications from Oettli. Still one feels after all that he has not given us a thorough explanation of the Song. This was perhaps justifiable in the present state of exegesis. For though the poem has not been altogether neglected by recent scholars, with the exception of Grätz and Stickel none of them has seriously grappled afresh with the problem of its origin. To Grätz (in spite of his many faults as a scholar) and Stickel the student should have been expressly referred;² the mention of the former on p. 423 seems to me far from sufficient. Help may also be got from Prof. Robertson Smith's able article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1876), and by the section relative to the Song in Reuss' French edition of the Bible.

For determining the date of the Song the linguistic argument is of more than common importance. Here I must complain that such a thorough Hebraist as Dr. Driver

¹ Cf. Julia Wedgewood, *The Moral Ideal* (1888), pp. 269, 270.

² Stickel's book appeared in 1898, and was ably reviewed by Prof. Budde (*Theol. Lit.-ztg.*, 1898, no. 6).

hesitates so much. The only fresh ground for uncertainty is the discovery of a weight on the site of Samaria, ascribed to the eighth century, with ש as in Song i. 6 (viii. 12), iii. 7. Apart from this, a linguist would certainly say that this pleonastic periphrasis *proved* the late date of the poem as it stands, but now it seems permissible to Dr. Driver to doubt. That I reluctantly call an unwise compromising with tradition. In 1876 (the date of Prof. Robertson Smith's article) we did not see our way in the post-Exilic period as we do now. If there is anything in the contents of the Song which express a pre-Exilic date, let it be pointed out. Meantime all the facts as yet elicited by exegesis can be explained quite as well on the assumption of a late date as of an early one. Let us then (failing any fresh exegetical evidence) hear no more of the Song of Deborah and the early north-Israelitish dialect. It is certain that the use of ש for אִשֶּׁר is specially characteristic of late writings; certain, that שִׁלְמָה Song i. 7 is analogous to שִׁלְמִי Jon. i. 7, and also to אִשֶּׁר בְּשֵׁל Eccles. viii. 17, and אִשֶּׁר לְמָה Dan. i. 10 (the fuller relative used as in Jon. i. 8¹ [contrast ver. 7], in a carefully expressed speech); certain, too, that some at least of the loan-words mentioned on pp. 422, 423 (note ³) point definitely to the post-Exilic period (even one or two Greek words seem highly probable). Kuenen in 1865, in spite of his preconceived theory of an early date, admitted that "the language seemed, at first sight, to plead for the Persian period"; Gesenius and M. Sachs—a great Christian and a great Jewish Hebraist—have expressed themselves still more strongly on the "modern Hebrew" of the Song of Songs. It is also highly probable that a careful study of the names of plants in the Song would favour a post-Exilic date. Nor can the parallelisms between this book and that "song of loves (or, love)," the

¹ I do not take the fuller phrase in ver. 8 to be a gloss (cf. the four lines added by Dr. Driver on p. 301 in 2nd edition).

45th Psalm, be ignored. If that psalm is post-Exilic, so also presumably is the Song of Songs.¹ But Dr. Driver's researches on the Psalms have not yet perhaps led him to see what to me is now so clear, and I am therefore content to have shown that, quite apart from this, the facts admitted by Dr. Driver point rather to a late than to an early date, and that we cannot therefore safely assume, with our author, that the poem has a basis of fact. Readers of Delitzsch's delightful essay on "Dancing, and Pentateuch-Criticism"² do not need to be assured that the post-Exilic period was not without the enlivenment of secular dancing and song.

And now comes another little disappointment—another little compromise with conservatism, which I should prefer to glide gently over, but for the illusion which is growing up among us that paring down the results of criticism is necessary for a truly Christian teaching. The Book of Ruth, according to our author, is a prose idyll, similar, I presume, to that which may have lain in the mind of the author of that idyllic group of quasi-dramatic *tableaux*—the Song of Songs, and based, like the Song (according to Dr. Driver), on tradition. We are told that,—

"The basis of the narrative consists, it may reasonably be supposed, of the family traditions respecting Ruth and her marriage with Boaz. These have been cast into a literary form by the [pre-Exilic] author, who has, no doubt, to a certain extent idealized both the characters and the scenes. Distance seems to have mellowed the rude, unsettled age of the Judges" (pp. 427, 428).

This description seems to soften the facts a little too much. It is not merely a "mellowed" picture that we

¹ See *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 167, 179 (cf. p. 298). On p. 167 (foot), read "*can be better accounted for.*" I do not see where to find a situation for either of these poems before the Greek period. One of the early and fortunate reigns must of course be selected. But I hold myself open to correction.

² Delitzsch, *Iris* (E. T.), pp. 189-204). The Mishna (*Taanith*, iv. 8; see Wünsche, *Talm.*, i. 473) tells how Song iii. 11 was sung in the vineyard dances.

have before us, but, as Mr. Cobb has remarked,¹ complete "*contrariety* of spirit, style, social life, and public affairs." Nor is anything gained by postulating an uncertain amount of traditional material; the story of Ruth is practically as imaginative as that of Tobit, and is none the less edifying on this account. But let us see how the acute and learned author endeavours to prove a pre-Exilic date. The genealogy, as he admits, "appears to suggest an Exilic or post-Exilic date," but this "forms no integral part of the book," while, in spite of many isolated expressions² which, taken together, seem at first sight to point to the post-Exilic period, the "general beauty and purity of the style of Ruth point decidedly to the pre-Exilic period." We are not told whether the book was written before or after Deuteronomy (which is referred on p. 82 to the reign of Manasseh), but it is pointed out that the peculiar kind of marriage referred to in chapters iii. and iv. is not strictly that of levirate (Deut. xxv. 5), and that the reception of Ruth into an Israelitish family "appears to conflict with Deuteronomy xxiii. 2." In reply, it may be said (1) that in order to give the "present condition of investigation" it was important to give a much fuller statement of the grounds on which "most modern critics consider Ruth to be Exilic (Ewald) or post-Exilic (Bertheau, Wellhausen, Kuenen, etc.);" (2) that by Dr. Driver's very candid admission "the style of the prose-parts of Job ['most probably' Exilic, p. 405] is not less pure"; (3) that the religious liberality of the writer and the family relations which he describes in the Book are perfectly intelligible in the post-

¹ *Bibliotheca Sacra*, Oct., 1891, p. 662.

² קָנָה, קָנָה, קָנָה are, I think, decisive. I incline to add קָנָה, which before the Exile is poetical (see *Bampton Lectures*, p. 84). Dr. Driver regards Ruth iv. 7 (קָנָה) as a gloss, cf. 1 Sam. ix. 9. But the latter passage is embedded in a pre-Exilic section, whereas Ruth iv. 7 occurs *ex hyp.* in a post-Exilic narrative. The narrator tries to throw himself back into early times, but *has to explain* a custom unknown to his post-Exilic readers. Nor is there any special reason to regard קָנָה as a word of the early northern dialect (p. 427).

Exilic period (cf. on the one hand the Book of Jonah, and on the other Kuenen's remark on Leviticus xviii. and xx., *Hexateuch*, p. 268); and (4) there is clearly no necessity to suppose the genealogy to have been added in a later age. In fact the one excuse for giving this Book an earlier date than that of Jonah is the greater flavour of antiquity which it possesses (notice the points of contact with Samuel given by Bertheau in the *Kurzgef. Handbuch*, p. 286).¹ Its real design is, not to glorify the Davidic house, but to show the universality of God's love. Just as our Lord exhibits a Samaritan as the model of practical piety, so the unknown writer of this beautiful little book brings before us a Moabitish woman as the model of an affectionate daughter who receives the highest earthly reward.²

The five Lamentations deserve attention, not only for some classic beauties of expression which have endeared them to the Christian heart, but as (perhaps) the earliest monuments of the piety of regenerate Israel, and as (perhaps) supplying presumptive evidence of the cultivation of religious lyric poetry long before the Exile. Nowhere perhaps does Dr. Driver's individuality show itself more strikingly than here. What pains he takes to soften the prejudices of old-fashioned readers, and give the principal result of criticism in its most moderate form! To unprejudiced students, however, he may seem timid, and it is certainly strange to hear that "even though the poems be not the work of Jeremiah, there is no question that they are the work of a contemporary (or contemporaries)." Nägelsbach long ago saw that at any rate Lamentations ii. implies an acquaintance with the Book of Ezekiel, and, to Dr. Driver, the affinities between all the Lamentations and the prophecies of Jeremiah ought surely to suggest that the author (or

¹ See Dr. Driver, p. 302, and cf. *Bampton Lectures*, p. 306.

² Comp. Talm. Bab., *Sanhedrin*, 96b (Wünsche, iii. 188), where still bolder flights are taken.

authors) had made a literary study of that Book. A considerable interval must therefore have elapsed between B.C. 586 and the writing of the Lamentations,¹ and the language used in Lamentations v. 20 (comp. Isa. xlii. 14, lvii. 11) points rather to the *end* than to the beginning of the Exile. This period is, moreover, the earliest which will suit the parallelisms between Lamentations iii. and the Book of Job (referred in this work to the Exile), which are more easily explained on the supposition that the elegy is dependent on Job than on the opposite theory.² It ought however to be mentioned that there are plausible grounds for giving a still later date to the third elegy, in which Jerusalem is not once mentioned, and which it is difficult not to associate with the Jeremianic psalms. If Psalm xxxi. is post-Exilic (and any other theory seems to me extremely improbable), so also is Lamentations iii., and of course we must add, If the poem of Job (as a whole) is post-Exilic, so also is Lamentations iii. And though I do not for a moment deny that lamentations were indited during the Exile (the Books of Ezekiel and of ii. Isaiah sufficiently prove this), yet the mere fact that the authors of Lamentations i., ii., iv., and v. refer so prominently to the fall of Jerusalem, is no conclusive proof that these lamentations too were not written in Judah after the return. The dramatic imaginativeness of the psalmists has, I believe, been proved,³ and the peculiar rhythm called "elegiac" has been traced by Budde in many productions of the post-Exilic age. It seems to me far from impossible that, just as the Church of the Second Temple composed its own psalms, so it preferred to indite fresh elegies for use on the old fast-days.

¹ See Prof. W. R. Smith's excellent article in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

² See my *Lamentations* (Pulpit Comm.), Introd., p. iii.

³ Cf. my commentary on Pss. lxxiv. and cxxxvii. The Second Isaiah, too, describes imaginatively in "elegiac rhythm" the state of captured Jerusalem Isa. li. 17-20).

The next section is one of the very best in this part of the volume—it is on Ecclesiastes. I will not occupy space with summarizing it, but urge the student to master its contents. I quite agree with Dr. Driver that the work may possibly be a work of the Greek period. The language, as I remarked in 1887, favours (though it does not absolutely require) a later date than that suggested by Ewald (close of the Persian period). The objection that if the book be of the Greek period, we have a right to expect definite traces of Greek influence, I now see to be inconclusive; the Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach contains none, and yet belongs to the Greek period.¹ Moreover, Hellenism must have influenced very many who did not definitely adopt Greek theories. Certainly the work is very un-Jewish. Very probably Kuenen is correct in dating it about 200 B.C., *i.e.*, about forty years before the great Maccabæan rising (so too Mr. Tyler). Dr. Driver admits the force of his reasoning, though he still not unreasonably hesitates. He is himself strongest on the linguistic side of the argument; see especially his note on the bearings of Prof. Margoliouth's attempted restorations of Ben Sira (p. 447). I cannot equally follow him in his argument against a theory which I myself hold, *viz.* that the text of Ecclesiastes has been manipulated in the interests of orthodoxy. As was remarked above, the book is not in the strictest sense canonical, and we have therefore no interest in creating or magnifying difficulties in a theory which is intrinsically probable, and is supported by numerous phenomena in the later period.

The section on Esther is also in the main very satisfactory. But why are we told that this narrative (which was not canonical according to St. Athanasius, and which, fascinating as it is, we can hardly venture to call inspired)

¹ On supposed Greek influences, see, besides Menzel, *Qohelet und die nacharistotelische Philosophie*, von August Palm (1885).

cannot reasonably be doubted to have a historical basis? Is it because of the appeal to Persian chronicles (Esth. ii. 23; x. 2; cf. ix. 32)? But it is of the essence of the art of romance not to shrink from appeals to fictitious authorities. One may however admit that a story like Esther, which professed to account for the origin of a popular festival, probably had a traditional, though not a historical, basis. On this point reference may be made to Kuenen's *Onderzoek* (ed. 2), p. 551, and Zimmern in Stade's *Zeitschrift*, 1891, p. 168. The latter thinks (and both Jensen and Lagarde agree) that the Feast of Purim may be derived ultimately from a Babylonian New Year's Feast, and that the story of the struggle between *Mordecai* and *Haman* was suggested by a Babylonian New Year's legend of the struggle between *Marduk* and *Tiāmat*. This coincides curiously with the views proposed above to explain the origin of the Jonah-narrative. Of course, the story may have been enriched with Persian elements (on which see Lagarde and Kuenen¹) before it was Hebraized by a Jewish story-teller.

Dr. Driver's linguistic argument for placing Esther in the 4th or 3rd century B.C. is excellent. But there is one important omission in his brief discussion. If the date is so early, how is it that the earliest independent evidence for the observance of Purim in Judæa is in 2 Maccabees (see p. 452)? Moreover, there is no mention of Mordecai and Esther² in Ben Sira's "praise of famous men" (Eccles. xliv.-xlix), which would be strange if Purim and its story were well known in Judæa in B.C. 180. May not the festival have been introduced into Judæa, and the Book of Esther have been written some time after the Maccabæan

¹ Lagarde's treatise *Purim* (1887) is important; Dr. Driver's reference gives no idea of this. See also his *Mittheilungen*, ii. 378-381, iv. 347. On Persian legendary elements, see also Kuenen, *Ond.*, ed. 2, ii. 551, and cf. Cornill, *Eintl.*, p. 253.

² Cf. Ben Sira's silence as to Daniel (see *Job and Solomon*, p. 194).

War (so Reuss, Kuenen, and Cornill)? Or, though this seems less probable, the book may have been written by a Persian Jew in the third century, but not brought to Palestine till later. Dr. Driver ought perhaps to have mentioned this theory (Mr. Bevan, *Daniel*, p. 29, notes two significant words which Esther has in common with Daniel). He might also have added to his "literature" my article "Esther" in *Enc. Brit.* (1878); Cassel's *Esther* (1888); and Dieulafoy, "Le livre d'Esther et le palais d'Assuérus" in *Revue des études juives*, 1888 (Actes et Conférences).

Nor can I help giving hearty praise to the sections on Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The details, especially on style, are worked out with great care. The only objection that I shall raise relates to the sketch of the method and spirit of the Chronicler, which I could have wished not less reverent, but bolder and more distinct in expression. We are all familiar with the attacks to which writers like Dr. Driver are exposed; some of the most vigorous passages of Bishop Ellicott's recent charge are directed against that strangest of all theories—"an inspiration of repainting history"—to which these reverent-minded writers are supposed to have committed themselves. If Dr. Driver had only been a little clearer on the subjects of inspiration and of the growth of the Canon, how much simpler would have been his task, especially in dealing with the Hagiographa! Of course, the Chronicles are inspired, not as the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, but as even a sermon might be called inspired, *i.e.* touched in a high degree with the best spiritual influences of the time. Dr. Driver says (Preface, p. xvi.):—

"It was the function of inspiration to guide the individual [historian] in the choice and disposition of his material, and in his use of it for the inculcation of special lessons."

But clearly this can be true of the Chronicler only with

those limitations, subject to which the same thing could be said of any conscientious and humble-minded preacher of the Christian Church. And if these limitations cannot be borne in mind, it is better to drop the word altogether, and express what we mean by some other term. That there are some passages in Chronicles which have a specially inspiring quality, and may *therefore* be called inspired, is not of course to be denied. But upon the whole, as Prof. Robertson Smith truly says,¹ the Chronicler "is not so much a historian as a Levitical preacher on the old history." The spirit of the Deuteronomistic editor of the earlier narrative books has found in him its most consistent representative. He omits some facts and colours others in perfect good faith according to a preconceived religious theory, to edify himself and his readers. He also adds some new facts, not on his own authority, but on that of earlier records, but we dare not say that he had any greater skill than his neighbours in sifting the contents of these records, if indeed he had any desire to do so. Dr. Driver's language (p. 501) respecting the "traditional element" used by the Chronicler seems therefore somewhat liable to misunderstanding.²

The only remaining section of the book relates to the Book of Daniel, and upon this, as might be expected, Dr. Driver's individuality has left a strong impress. It is needless to say that the student can fully trust the facts which are here stored up in abundance, also that the conclusions arrived at are in the main judicious, and the mode of their presentation considerate. And yet helpful, very helpful, as this section is, it does not fully satisfy a severely critical standard. Far be it from me to blame the author for this; I sympathize too deeply with the conflict of feel-

¹ *The Old Test. in the Jewish Church*, p. 420.

² To the "literature" of Ezra I should add Nestle, "Zur Frage nach der ursprünglichen Einheit der Bücher Chronik, Esra, Neh.," in *Studien u. Kritiken*, 1879, pp. 517-520; van Hoonacker, "Néhémie et Esdras; nouvelle hypothèse," in *Le Muséon*, 1890.

ings amid which he must have written. I would speak frankly, but (on the grounds already mentioned) without assumption of superiority. First of all, I think it a misfortune that the sketch of the contents of the Book could not have been shortened. I know the excuse; there existed in English no commentary on Daniel sufficiently critical to be referred to. But on the other hand, there was the most urgent need for more preliminary matter, especially on the characteristics of this Book. Ordinary readers simply *cannot* understand Daniel. Modern culture supplies no key to it, as Mr. Gilbert's interesting paper in the *EXPOSITOR* for June, 1889, conclusively shows. I do not undervalue the judicious remarks on pp. 480-482, but on "apocalyptic" literature something more was wanted than bare references to various German authors, one of whom (Smend) ought, as I think, to have been made much more prominent.¹ Secondly, I think that a freer use should have been made of the cuneiform inscriptions, especially considering the unfriendly criticisms of Professor Sayce. In this respect I believe myself to have long ago set a good example, though my article on Daniel (*Enc. Brit.*, 1876) of course requires much modification and expansion.² And here let me repair an omission in Part I. of this review. Dr. Driver should, I think, in dealing with Hexateuch criticism, have taken some account of Assyrian and Egyptian investigations. Even if he thought it safer not to speak too positively on the bearings of these researches on the question of the dates of documents, he ought, I think, to have "indicated the way for future progress" (editor's preface).³ But

¹ Dr. Wright's work on Daniel in the *Pulpit Commentary* will, I am sure, be full of learned and honest discussion. But when will it appear? Mr. Bevan's *Short Commentary on Daniel* (1892) is so good that we may even ask him for something more complete, though not more careful and critical.

² See also *Bampt. Lect.*, pp. 105-107 (cf. 94, 296).

³ I referred to this at the Church Congress in 1883 (*Job and Solomon*, p. 6), and Prof. Robertson Smith wrote an acute paper on "Archæology and the Date of the Pentateuch" in the *Contemp. Rev.* for October, 1887. Against the

on the relation of cuneiform research to the criticism of Daniel no reserve was called for. It would have been quite right to say that the statement respecting Belteshazzar in Daniel iv. was erroneous, and that the names Ashpenaz, Shadrach, and Meshach could not have been put forward as Babylonian in Exilic times; ¹ also that Hamelsar (probably) and Abed-nego (certainly) are ignorant deformations of Babylonian names, and that though Arioch is doubtless Eri-aku, yet this name was probably obtained from Genesis xiv. 1.² And much more might, I think, have been made of the writer's slight acquaintance with Babylonian ideas and customs. Above all, while on "the Chaldeans" and on Belshazzar very just remarks are made, on "Darius the Mede" we get this unfortunate compromise between criticism and conservatism (p. 469; cf. p. 479, note ²):—

"Still the circumstances are not perhaps such as to be altogether inconsistent with either the existence or the office of "Darius the Mede"; and a cautious criticism will not build too much on the silence of the inscriptions, when many certainly remain yet to be brought to light."

Now it is quite true that in the addenda to the second edition it is stated, in accordance with the contract-tablets published by Strassmaier, that neither "Darius the Mede" nor even Belshazzar bore the title of king between Nabû-na'id and Cyrus. But it is not the very venial error in

coloured statements of Prof. Sayce's interesting paper in the *Expository Times* for December, 1881, I have already protested (p. 93). The Tell-el-Amarna tablets introduce a fresh element, not of simplicity, but of complication ("development" is, alas! not such a simple matter as theorists used to suppose). But E. Meyer's critical inference from Egyptian history in Stade's *Zt.*, 1888, pp. 47–49 (cf. his *Gesch. des Alt.*, I. 202) appears to be worth a corner even of Dr. Driver's limited space.

¹ Few probably will accept Kohler's suggestions on "the Chaldean names of Daniel and his three friends," in the *Zt. für Assyriologie*, 1889, pp. 46–51.

² The reported "discovery of transcendent importance" relative to Gen. xiv. 18, sinks upon examination into an interesting and valuable fact about Jerusalem, which is of no direct importance for Genesis-criticism. See my *Bamp. Lect.*, p. 45, and cf. Zimmern, *Zt. f. Assyriologie*, Sept. 1891, p. 263. *Let popular apologetic writers be more on their guard!*

the original statement on which I lay stress, but the attitude of the writer. Out of excessive sympathy with old-fashioned readers, he seems to forget the claims of criticism. The words of Daniel v. 31 should be in themselves sufficient to prove the narrative in which they occur to have been written long after B.C. 536.¹

Thirdly, against the view that chap. xi. contains true predictions, the author should, I think, have urged Nestle's *certain* explanation of the so-called "abomination of desolation" in Stade's *Zeitschrift* for 1883² (see *Bampt. Lect.*, p. 105). That an Exilic prophet should have used the phrase explained by Nestle, Bishop Ellicott himself will admit to be inconceivable. I will not blame Dr. Driver for his remark on p. 477 (line 28, etc.), but I believe that it is not quite critical, and that Nestle's discovery supplies the last fact that was wanted to *prove* to the general satisfaction that Daniel xi., xii. (and all that belongs to it) was written in the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. I say "the last fact," because a faithful historical explanation of Daniel xi., xii. such as is given by the great Church-Father Hippolytus in the lately discovered fourth book of his commentary³ *forces* on the unprejudiced mind the conclusion that this section was written during the Syrian

¹ That Mr. Pinches should have come forward on the side of conservatism at the Church Congress in 1891, is, I presume, of no significance. He is far too modest to claim to have studied the Book of Daniel critically. The same remark probably applies to Mr. Flinders Petrie (see *Bampt. Lect.*, pp. 9, 10). On "Darius the Mede," compare Meinhold (*Beiträge*, 1888), and Sayce, *Fresh Light*, etc. (1884), p. 181, who however unduly blunts the edge of his critical decision. See also my own article "Daniel," for an incidental evidence of the confusion between Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis from 1 Kings x. 18, Sept.

² Dr. Driver mentions this explanation in the addenda to ed. 2. But, like Mr. Bevan (*Daniel*, p. 193, who also refers to Nestle), he thinks the "abomination" was an altar. Surely, as Bleek saw, it was (primarily at least) a statue. The statue of Olympian Zeus bore the Divine name, and the altar was presumably erected before it.

³ Fragments of the Syriac version of this fourth book were given by Lagarde, *Analecta Syriaca* (1838), pp. 79-91. Georgiades discovered, and Dr. E. Bratke edited the complete work in Greek in 1891.

persecution. Hippolytus, it is true, did not draw this conclusion, but who can wonder that the Neoplatonic philosopher Porphyry did? And should we not be ready to learn even from our foes?

Fourthly. (The reader will pardon this dry arrangement under heads with a view to brevity.) I notice on p. 479 the same confusion which occurs elsewhere between "tradition" and history. I do not think that any critic who agrees on the main point with Dr. Driver would maintain that "Daniel, it cannot be doubted, was a historical person" except the newly converted Delitzsch, who, as his article in the second edition of Herzog's *Encyclopædia* shows, had not worked his way to perfect clearness. Listen to the late Prof. Riehm, who is now just obtaining recognition among us.

"The material of his narratives the author may partly have taken from folk-tales (*aus der Volkssage*), though at any rate in part he invented it himself. . . . And even if there was a folk-tale (*Volkssage*), according to which Daniel was a prophet living during the Exile and distinguished for his piety, yet the historical existence of an Exilic prophet Daniel is more than doubtful."¹

One must, I fear, add that the two statements mentioned in note² as resting possibly or probably on a basis of fact are, the one very doubtful, the other now admitted to be without foundation.

Fifthly, as to the date of the composition of the book. Dr. Driver states this to be at earliest about B.C. 300, but more probably B.C. 168 or 167 (p. 467). Delitzsch is bolder and more critical; he says about B.C. 168. But to be true to all the facts, we ought rather to say that, while some evidence points to a date not earlier than B.C. 300, other facts point to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, and perhaps more definitely still to the period between the end of Dec. 165 (the dedication of the temple, which is mentioned

¹ *Einleitung in das A.T.*, ii. 309.

in Daniel viii. 14) and June 164 (the end of the seventieth year-week, when the writer of Daniel expected the tyrant Antiochus to "come to his end.")).¹

It was a pity that so little could be said on the composition of the book. Reuss and Lagarde both held that the book was made up of a number of separate "fly-sheets," and Dr. C. H. H. Wright maintains that it is but an abridgment of a larger work. The theories of Lenormant, Zöckler, and Strack also deserved a mention. On Meinhold's theory a somewhat too hesitating judgment is expressed (p. 483), which should be compared with Mr. Bevan's more decided view in his *Daniel*. From the form of the opening sentence of par. 3 on page 482, I conjecture that something on this subject may have been omitted. But if by so doing the author obtained more room for his *linguistic* arguments, I can but rejoice. Gladly do I call attention to the soundness of the facts on which these are based and the truly critical character of his judgments, and more particularly to what is said on the Aramaic of the Book of Daniel, and the eminently fair references to Prof. Margoliouth.²

But the treatment of the language of Daniel is but the climax of a series of linguistic contributions. To any one who has eyes to see, the special value of the book consists in its presentation of the linguistic evidence of the date of the documents (cf. p. 106). I do not say that I am not sometimes disappointed. No wonder; did not a good scholar like Budde, in 1876, claim the Elihu-speeches for the original Book of Job on grounds of language? Often I could have wished both that more evidence were given

¹ The fullest justification of this is given by Cornill, *Die siebenzig Jahrwochen Daniels* (Königsberg, 1889); cf. *Einleitung*, p. 258. This little treatise deserves a fuller criticism than it has yet received.

² Mr. Bevan's mainly linguistic commentary on Daniel and Mr. Brasted's study on the order of the sentences in the Hebrew portions of Daniel (*Hebraica*, July, 1891, p. 244, etc.) appeared after the completion of Dr. Driver's work.

and a more definite conclusion reached (e.g. on Joel); but I recognise the difficulties with which Dr. Driver had to contend, arising partly from his limited space, partly from the unfamiliarity of the reader with this style of argument. With Dr. Driver's remark in the *Journal of Philosophy*, xi. 133 (note ¹) I agree, and when Dr. Briggs suggests that in my researches on the Psalms "the argument from language is not employed with much effect," ¹ I feel that if not quite as firm as I might have been, I have been at least as bold as Dr. Driver would have been; indeed, I am indebted to my colleague for criticisms of my "Linguistic Affinities of the Psalms," which tended rather to the limiting than to the heightening of their "effect." I think that I should now be able to put forward a few somewhat more definite conclusions (positive and negative), but Dr. Driver's self-restraint on p. 361 will perhaps show Dr. Briggs that if I erred, it was in good company. Let me add that the author himself has not lost the opportunity of giving some sufficiently definite conclusions on the development of Hebrew style. It is on a paragraph which begins by stating that "the great turning-point in Hebrew style falls in the age of Nehemiah" (p. 473). The result thus indicated is based upon much careful observation. It agrees substantially with the view of H. Ewald (*Lehrbuch*, p. 24), which is a decided improvement upon Gesenius's (*Gesch. der. hebr. Spr.*), but must however, as I believe, be qualified, in accordance with the great variety of Hebrew composition.²

In bringing this review to an end, let me say once more how much more gladly I would have echoed the words of that generous-minded eulogist of this book—Prof. Herbert

¹ In a very generous notice of *Bampt. Lect.*, *North American Review*, January, 1892, p. 106.

² Cf. *Bampt. Lect.*, pp. 460-463; Geiger, *Urschrift*, pp. 40, 41. I need not say that I am by no means a disciple of this brilliant but too hasty critic.

E. Ryle.¹ I have written because of the illusions which seem gathering fresh strength or assuming new forms among us, and if I have shown some eagerness, I trust that it has been a chastened eagerness. The work before us is a contribution of value to a great subject, and if the facts and theories which it so ably presents should influence the higher religious teaching, no one would rejoice more than myself. But solid, judicious, and in one place brilliant as it is, it requires much supplementing as a sketch of the present state of criticism—not merely in the sense in which this must be true of even the best handbooks, but for reasons which have, as I hope, been courteously stated. The author appears to have thought that criticism of the Bible was one of those shy Alpine plants of which it has been well said that “we can easily give our plants the soil they require, but we cannot give them the climate and atmosphere; the climate and atmosphere are of as much importance to their well-being as carefully selected soil.” I venture, however, to hope that he is unduly fearful, and that the mental climate and atmosphere of England is no longer so adverse as formerly to a free but reverent Biblical criticism. Indeed, one of my chief grounds for advocating such a criticism is that it appears to me to be becoming more and more necessary for the maintenance of true evangelical religion. It is, therefore, in the name of the Apostle of Faith that one of the weakest of his followers advocates a firmer treatment of all parts of the grave historical problem of the origin of our religion.

T. K. CHEYNE.

¹ See *Critical Review*, Jan., 1892.

THE MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

III.

PERHAPS the most sublime passage in all literature is that march of God in Habakkuk, beside which the rush of Achilles, with his helmet blazing like a baleful star, shines very dimly. And the most awful phrase in that tremendous poem tells us that "Before Him went the pestilence." It is a lurid expression of one side of what we think of God, the Avenger, the jealous God. Egypt mourning for her firstborn learned to know Jehovah preceded by that grim forerunner.

How comes it, now, that such a conception of the Lord has fallen quite into the back-ground, so that our hymns and litanies never say, "Before Him went the pestilence," but love to proclaim that "Mercy and truth go before His face"? We owe the victory of the milder conception most of all to the life, to the words and works of Jesus. We owe the harmony and fulness of our belief that God is love to the harmony, fulness, and consistent vividness of His character, in Whom Christendom adores her manifested and incarnate God. And this is the supreme greatness of our creed. Sir Edwin Arnold himself does not pretend that even the Buddha of his daring romance taught this lesson.

"Thy Jesus filled
The leaf of wisdom in, and wrote for men
The name Lord Buddha would not say nor spell,
. Denying not,
Affirming not, but finding no word fit
Saving the Wordless, the Immeasurable,
But thou, reporting . . . dost inscribe
This mighty name of Love."

—*The Light of the World.*

But it is absolutely certain that this supreme issue of the teaching of Jesus, by which He draws all men unto Him, is not the result of abstract moralizing, but of the clear, har-

monious, and vital presentment of His own life, that life in which His church sees God.

"The Word had flesh, and wrought
With human hands the creed of creeds,
In loveliness of perfect deeds."

This is the charm of the religion of Jesus, and the spell would have been broken by the slightest admixture of miry clay with the pure gold of this unparalleled and marvellous conception. Students may prefer to dwell upon the lofty precepts of the Sermon on the Mount; but they are dull students who fail to observe that the public, the church, the masses, are much more powerfully affected by such words as "Jesus wept." Now these words occur in the story of a miracle. And all the miracles of Jesus deepen our sense of perfect love and absolute condescension. Any inquirer (and there are many such) who hesitates to accept the miraculous, while conscious of a divine power and reality in the gospel story, of a life which throbs there, can easily do more to help himself than many subtle arguments can do for him. He can score out of the four Gospels all the miraculous narratives, and then carefully read over and weigh the residue. The first thing which will probably arrest his mind is the remarkable identity of character in what remains and what is cancelled. The next is that somehow this character is no longer so well accounted for. The key to its idiosyncrasies is lost. Still, for example, He teaches with authority; but His "Verily I say" does not appear so reasonable, so decisive, as when He also with authority commanded even the unclean spirits. A certain lack of argument, syllogism, logical demonstration is felt, for the first time, in the absence of demonstrations of another kind. He will find moreover that the picture has faded woefully, which is strange, considering that what has been expunged is no part of it, so that the tints should have brightened, and the figures should stand out better from the canvas.

On the contrary, much of the love and condescension, the forbearance and thoughtfulness for others, is now comparatively dim and indistinct. The meekness of Jesus is certainly not so adorable, so inspiring an example, as when we felt that He could have summoned legions of angels to His side, while in fact He only healed His persecutor's wound.

The investigator may now ask himself whether, like a skilful restorer, he has removed only dust and smoke, the accretions of a later day, or has unhappily cleaned away much of the inimitable, the divine picture itself. The miracles answered their highest purpose, said Neander, in vividly exhibiting the nature of Christ.

Think how unbelievers explain the presence of the miracles. First of all, there were the portents of the Old Testament, inflaming the public imagination, and forcing similar prodigies into the Messianic legend. "It was known in detail," said Strauss, "what sort of miracles Jesus, being the Messiah, must have performed." He tells us that nameless lepers were cleansed, because the heroes of the Old Testament healed Miriam for whom a nation mourned, and Naaman for whom a sovereign interceded. Six pots of water were turned into wine, to rival the plague which converted the mighty Nile into blood, of which wine is a type. A meal had to be given, lest the Messiah should be outstripped by him who fed a whole nation during forty years, and it had to be repeated because the former miracle was mentioned twice. As there were quails, with the manna, knee-deep all around the camp, therefore Jesus added fish (for which Israel had murmured vainly) to the barley-bread which made so fine a substitute for angel's food. Because the nation marched through the Red Sea, and Pharaoh was engulfed, therefore Jesus walked upon a lake, and Peter narrowly escaped with his life. Because God spoke to Moses in thunder from Mount Sinai before a whole nation which trembled, therefore two human beings appeared to Jesus on

Hermon, before three spectators who just kept awake. Such is the issue of an imperative instinct, which commanded that the Messiah should not "be outstripped." Never surely was the mythical impulse at once so busy and so modest. These absurdities are heightened by assertions that the Messiah had "to excel the prophet" Elijah, and "to do at least as much," whereas it is frankly recorded that Jesus was challenged to show a sign from heaven (as Elijah did on Carmel), and refused; and again that He rebuked His disciples for wishing, like him, to call down fire upon His enemies. Yet even Keim, in his perplexed and hesitating discussion of the first cure of leprosy, when his reluctance to admit the supernatural is well-nigh balanced by his sense of the verisimilitude of the story, appeals to the repeated mention of leprosy in the story of Moses, and to the healing of Naaman.

We shall presently have to ask the meaning of what is so plain in the above examples, the total absence of any desire to outstrip, or even to rival, the stupendous and shattering miracles which are connected with the Exodus. In the meantime, these parallel cases, in all of which the advantage of bulk and brilliance must be conceded to the earlier story, are an admirable commentary upon Schenkel's reckless phrase, "As Moses had drawn water from the rock to refresh the thirsty and had fed the hungry with manna, as Elijah and Elisha had healed the sick, how natural was it to ascribe greater and more glorious deeds to one who was unquestionably greater than Moses and more glorious than Elijah, . . . seeking by such hyperboles to give expression . . . to the sacred glow of their admiration, love, and reverence" (*Sketch* 21, 22). In candour we should have been reminded that, except the raising of Lazarus alone, every one of these remarkable hyperboles, devised by the "religiously inspired imagination" of "followers touched to the uttermost," as a rival prodigy falls absurdly short of

what it is asserted to compete with. No such explanation would explain anything, if only the average reader would compare the facts with the theories which profess to account for them.¹

In the meantime, these passages are an invaluable proof, from hostile sources, that the gospel miracles are not the natural outcome of such tendencies, and, what is more important, that the Messianic expectations, the popular demands, the requirements of the Time-Spirit, when Jesus came, would have scorned to accept any such limp and bloodless achievements as the charm of an exalted personality might work upon the nerves of the hysterical.

The explanation of the miracles by nervous excitement is, from quite another point of view, forbidden by the facts. Of all great teachers, Jesus was the most reasonable, sober, and unexciting. Every one has noticed the small part given to penalty and spiritual terrors in His treatment of all but the most stubborn and insolent sin. He imposes silence upon every approach to demonstrative and revivalistic testimony. He does not strive nor cry. In form, His teaching is often paradoxical: it pierces deep and demands everything; but it is reasonable in the purest and highest sense. The Christian war, the Christian building must not be

¹ But so deficient are most readers in this faculty of simple observation, this vigilance of the mind, that many readers were befooled by J. S. Mill's wickedly reckless assertion, "Christ is never said to have declared any evidence of His mission (unless His own interpretation of the prophecies be so considered) except internal conviction" (*Essays on Religion*, p. 240). The sting of this passage is not in any opinion which Mill may entertain, going behind the documents, about what Jesus taught. This we can take for what it is worth. What imposes on people is the assertion, by a man of intellectual rank, that more than this is never claimed for Him, "is never said." This means that He is never recorded to have said, "That ye may know that the Son of Man hath power to forgive sins, take up thy bed and walk"; nor again, "If I by the finger of God cast out devils, no doubt the kingdom of God is come unto you"; nor, "If I had not done among them the works that none other man did, they had not had sin"; nor, "Believe Me for the very work's sake." The assertion is an impressive warning to the credulous, not all of whom are Christians, since it appears that Mill believed this.

undertaken without first sitting down to count the cost. If one impulsively offers to follow Jesus anywhere, he is reminded that the Son of Man hath not where to lay His head. Instead of heated nocturnal assemblies, we find ourselves in the daylight and the fresh air. Renan's eye for the picturesque has seen correctly that "Jesus lived with His disciples almost altogether in the open air. Sometimes He entered a boat, and taught them congregated on the beach. Sometimes He sat upon the mountains which fringed the lake, where the atmosphere is so pure and the horizon so lucid" (*V. de J.*, 172). But how does all this agree with the notion that overstimulated nervous excitement is the true explanation of the success of the Carpenter and His fishermen, that it worked His miracles for Him by hysterical expectation, and after His death beheld Him by consentient hallucinations, and of all times and places did this on a breezy mountain, and when they went a-fishing?

Look again at the style of Jesus. Never was teacher so full of vivid illustrations, but His allusions are not to thunder, earthquake, and volcano; they are to dawn and sunset, birds and grasses, seeds growing silently, leaven leavening the lump. Even the same image which in the Old Testament was thrown into sublime and lofty forms, becomes homely, vivid indeed and picturesque, but unstrained, when Jesus uses it. The lion out of the forest that rends them becomes a wolf that scattereth the flock. The eagle that fluttered over her young is now the hen that would have sheltered her chickens. We miss the oak, the palm, the cedar, and the terebinth; but we find instead a tiny seed that actually becomes a tree, tall enough for birds to shelter in. Read any page of Thomas Carlyle, and then any chapter of the discourses of Jesus, and it will become very plain that no teaching is less calculated to produce hallucination, extravagance, or hysterical delusions.

Precisely the same character, calm, absolutely balanced,

utterly unfit for the stimulating of false excitement, is actually to be recognised in the process of working the very miracles which are explained by popular excitement. And this fact has a double value. It not only refutes this theory, but also identifies the character of Jesus in this part of the story and in the rest, and so establishes their common origin. Thus when the belief of any sufferer is so weak as to require special confirmation, the emotions are not inflamed, but repressed and calmed; not a stimulant, but exercise is administered to faith. Some He sends to a distance, to wash at an appointed fountain, or to show themselves to the priests. Others He takes aside, withdrawing them from the excited crowd. Matter-of-fact questions are put to the excited demoniacs or their friends: What is thy name? How long is it since this came upon him? Everything is calm, and fitted to calm the patient; it is a method accurately the reverse of what the sceptical theory demands.

The same temperament reappears when the miracle is wrought. Sometimes He conveys Himself away so unobtrusively that the sufferer only discovers afterwards to whom he is indebted. Very often He charges them not to make Him known. In a moment when amazement has paralysed the practical energies of all others, Jesus is keenly observant. He provides for her healthy appetite when the daughter of Jairus has recovered; He delivers to the widow of Nain the son from whom, as from an unearthly and spell-bound being, she still held aloof; and He is careful that Lazarus should be disentangled from his graveclothes.¹ Thus He is divinely at home among His wonders, and quite as ready to remove trouble by a familiar word afterwards as by the summons which recalls the dead. In His greatest

¹ No mythical impulse could have infused into three events in various documents these curiously diverse yet harmonious touches, of which the consistent individuality is left unnoticed by Farrar, Geikie, and Edersheim. All these writers indeed have passed one or more of the charming incidents in question without mention.

miracles He is much more truly the good Physician than the dazzling Thaumaturgist.

We find, then, in the modest scale of the Christian miracles, compared with those of Jewish history, a convincing refutation of the sceptical argument, and also clear marks of identity with the admitted character of Jesus. But this is not all. His aims, and therefore the effect which His miracles should produce, were entirely different from those of Moses and of Elijah. One of these had to execute judgment on all the gods of Egypt, the other had to wring from apostate Israel the confession that only Jehovah was Elohim. The praise of Jethro (as commonly understood) is exactly what was desired by both: "Now know I that Jehovah is greater than all gods, yea, in the thing wherein they dwelt proudly." And this avowal was extorted by an overwhelming display of those physical powers for the sake of which false gods were adored, as may be clearly seen by the competition of the magicians in Egypt, and by Elijah's appeal, in rivalry with Baal, to the test of an answer by fire. What had to be made good was a supremacy in power. Therefore Egypt was visited with every form of loathsome and dreadful plague, ending in the wholesale destruction of the very flower of the nation. Therefore all nature was made to own its Master; the river rolled down blood; the sun was darkened; the sea was rent asunder by an obedient tempest; and presently the whole mountain of Sinai burned with fire up to heaven. Therefore, again, the flame of God consumed the sacrifice on Carmel, and drought and famine, and afterwards rain, were obedient to the prayers of a mortal.

Very different was the task of Jesus among a people who had no doubt whatever about the worship of Jehovah and the vanity of idols. And no more delicate problem could be devised than this one; by what degree and kind of miracle should a Messiah best authenticate his claim, who

did not profess to establish the pretensions of a new Deity, or to overwhelm a rival god, but on the contrary to establish a true character of that God who was already worshipped, and even to exhibit it, being Himself God manifest in the flesh. This problem, like many others apparently insoluble, Jesus solved without hesitation and without an effort. For it is evident that the mind of God is most clearly shown, not by what is exceptional but by His usual course, which therefore ought not to be disturbed by such an envoy, even when He overstepped its range. The convulsions of nature and the diseases of men are disorders, penal interruptions, His "strange work," and they shall cease when His full purpose is worked out. Therefore these could have no place in the works of One, in whom God was reconciling the world unto Himself, and whom He sent not to judge the world.

Now the whole work of Jesus was a restoration of harmony to convulsed nature, and of health to afflicted men. When this is observed, the alleged rivalry between Christian miracles and those of Moses and Elijah is converted into a most instructive contrast. At the bidding of Moses all the water of Egypt was polluted; Jesus only supplied wine when it had failed. Elijah smote the land with famine; Jesus only gave bread to the hungry. Moses stretched out his rod, and the sea overwhelmed Pharaoh; Jesus only rebuked the wind and the waves, and there was a great calm. All this could never have been astutely devised by the criticism of the early church, because the Apocryphal Gospels are in quite another style, and because the sceptics even of our own time are unaware of this change of tone. Thus Renan tells us that "the coming of Messiah with His glories and terrors, the nations trampling on each other, *the convulsion of heaven and earth*, were the familiar food of His imagination" (*Vie de J.*, p. 40). But Jesus actually convulses nothing. Strauss appeals to "*the production and*

cure of leprosy" in the Old Testament, and to the fact that Miriam was first visited with leprosy for having "had the audacity to rebel against her brother," and afterwards relieved, and he also mentions the punishment of Gehazi; but he omits to explain the fact that no person is thus afflicted for disrespect to Jesus. "Leprosy, and the healing of leprosy," says Keim, "appear in connection with Moses from the time when he was first called, as well as in connection with the miracle-working prophets of the ninth pre-Christian century, especially Elisha" (*Jesus of Nazara*, iii. 210, 11). But he, too, remains quite unconscious of the problem why it is that not "leprosy" but only "the healing of leprosy" has been taken over into the New Testament, by the mythical impulse, so jealous of those exploits.

In truth, Neander is right when he insists that the miracles are a part of Christ's humiliation. They are so because, intentionally and in the face of taunt and challenge, He abstains from all glittering and conspicuous works, neither casting Himself from the temple summits, nor exhibiting "a sign from heaven," nor granting to "this generation," to official inquisition or to the public in bulk, and as a whole, any sign whatever, not so much as thunder in barley harvest or the return of a shadow on a dial. They are so because, in every one of them, Jesus is among us as He that serveth, breaking the bread for the hungry, rudely awakened by the terrified, touching the defilement of the leper, the bleeding wound of Malchus, the cold and defiling hand of the dead. They are so, again, because, unlike any wonderworker of the Old Testament, He was disobeyed and slandered with absolute impunity. He charged the restored not to make Him known, but they blazed it the more abroad, yet retained their health: He asked, Where are the nine? yet their cleansing held good: the impotent man betrayed Him to a hostile quest, but we read not that any worse thing came upon him.

And yet, in the midst of this lowly gentleness, there is one respect, and that all-important, in which His works are entirely without a parallel. They are wrought by no invocation of any greater name. Instead of soliciting, He bestows. And it is a strong evidence of the consistent truth of the story, that very early indeed this peculiarity was observed by every one, so that the bystanders said, With authority He commandeth even the unclean spirits; and the centurion compared His action to that of an officer saying, Go, and Come; and the Pharisees demanded, By what authority doest Thou these things?

It is a strange irony that the only apparent exception is found in that Gospel which is loudly charged with suppressing all the lowlier and more human manifestations of His nature. It is in the words, Father, I thank Thee that Thou hast heard Me.

In the miracles of Jesus He is meek, unobtrusive, willing that His followers should perform greater works than these. But they are the manifestations of a God who is not above but within Him, and they are quiet, beautiful and benignant as the ordinary ways of God; even as He said, Many fair (*καλὰ*) works have I shown you from My Father.

G. A. CHADWICK.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

V. THE AUTHOR (*continued*).

My contention is that the author of the Fourth Gospel not only shows his Jewish origin by his knowledge of Palestinian topography, by the cast of his style, by his interpretation of Jewish names (a topic on which I have not enlarged, but which will be found excellently treated by Bishop Lightfoot),¹ by the frequency of his quotations from the Old Testament, and by the probability that in some of them he has been influenced by his acquaintance either with the original text or with the current Aramaic paraphrases,—but that more than this, his mind is really steeped in the Old Testament, and that his leading ideas stand as much in a direct line with the Old Testament as those of St. Paul and St. Peter.

Here I am aware that I come to some extent into collision with Dr. Schürer, though he is clearly conscious of another side to the question besides that to which he seems himself to give the preference. He strikes a balance between the opposing arguments thus :—

“It cannot be questioned that the author of the Fourth Gospel has imbibed Greek culture (*ein Mann von griechischer Bildung war*). And we may add that this culture was that of Hellenistic Judaism in the form in which it is specially represented by Philo. Can we assume this for the Apostle John? The opponents of the genuineness lay great stress on this head, pointing more particularly to the marked coincidences between the sphere of thought in our Gospel and the Philonian, *e.g.* in regard to the doctrine of the Logos. The Evangelist, they think, was trained in the Alexandrian philosophy, which could not be expected of the Apostle. The defenders begin by seeking to reduce the measure of Hellenic culture in our Evangelist as much as possible. Many deny broadly that our Evangelist was influenced by specifically Philonian ideas at all. Such a degree of Greek culture as

¹ EXPOSITOR, 1890, i. 17-19.

the Evangelist really exhibits, they think that the Apostle John might have acquired in his later life among his Greek surroundings at Ephesus. The question therefore stands under this head pretty much as it does in regard to his anti-Jewish standpoint. Is it probable that the Apostle John in his later years should have undergone such a change? It is harder to answer this question in the affirmative in proportion to the degree of Hellenic culture which one is compelled to attribute to the Evangelist."¹

My own position is one which Dr. Schürer would think a rather extreme one; it also marks what will be from his point of view a distinct retrogression. When I wrote on St. John twenty years ago, I went with the stream in conceding a decided influence of Philonian or at least Alexandrian philosophy. My present tendency is, if not absolutely to deny such influence, at least to reduce it within very narrow limits; to regard it as in any case extremely remote and indirect, and not comparable for a moment with the influence of the Old Testament.

I know that in forming this opinion some will think me actuated by an apologetic motive. I can only reply, that if that is so, I am not conscious of it; but that I have rather tried to exercise a certain watchfulness over myself; and that I have moved rather more slowly than I might otherwise have done. Since I wrote much of course has been published on this subject. Dr. Westcott's great commentary and the many solid works by Dr. B. Weiss (6th edition of Meyer's Commentary, 1880; *Biblische Theologie*, 4th edition, 1884; *Einleitung*, 1886), who has always consistently rejected the Philonian theory, as well as Franke's *Das alte Testament bei Johannes*, have not been without their effect upon me. I will not however appeal to these, but will take one or two writers on Dr. Schürer's own side of the question to show that there is at least a rather strong set of the tide in the direction I have taken.

It has not been my fortune so far to speak with very

¹ Vortrag, p. 69f.

great respect of Herr Thoma. The main body of his book I consider to be very wide of the mark. On the subject of topography, with which we were last dealing, he has notions which seem to me of a very airy texture indeed, and they come out in close juxtaposition to the passage I am going to quote : but that passage is so admirable, not merely for my present purpose, but as a real expression of the facts, that I have a peculiar pleasure in quoting it. It touches on some other points both before and behind that with which we are now dealing.

"This friendliness towards the Gentiles which the Evangelist shares with the Apostle [of the Gentiles] serves as little as his dislike of the Jews to prove his Gentile origin. On the contrary, his whole culture, the circle of ideas in which he is at home, the language which is familiar to him, point to a Jewish or Jewish-Christian origin.

"True, the Samaritan Justin has also a very good knowledge of Scripture. But the way in which he applies it shows that this knowledge has been acquired for learned and literary use in polemics and apologetics ; it is rather an importation from without of foreign material which he has built into his walls. With the Evangelist, on the other hand, one sees that he has sucked in a Jewish way of thinking with his mother's milk, that from a child he has been fed upon the living bread of the Word of God, that from his youth up he has read the Holy Scriptures and steeped himself in their ideas, figures of speech, and words of expression, so that the reminiscences of them come out as if they were something of his own, rather an unconscious and spontaneous manner of thinking and speaking than as quotation and interpretation.

"Along with this he is acquainted with Jewish customs and usages, and that such as are not to be got from the Old Testament, or such as might impress themselves vividly and familiarly upon a spectator from observing the religious ceremonies of an alien society. He alludes impartially and with no great effort to such Jewish traditions and ideas as would only be possible to one who had himself been accustomed to move amongst Jews ; indeed this perhaps is the reason which makes him forget here and there to put in explanations which, to a non-Jewish reader, would be quite indispensable to make him understand what was said.¹ On the other hand his explanatory notes on the manners and customs of the Jews may be accounted for by

¹ vii. 37f., 22f., xviii. 32, xix. 31 ; contrasted with xix. 41.

reference to Gentile readers on whom the author had to reckon, and probably did immediately reckon.

"But what tells more especially for Jewish origin is the knowledge of Hebrew which the author displays. This knowledge is considerably greater than Justin's, who undertakes to give the meaning of a name here and there, badly enough; it is better than Philo's, who may perhaps have taken his interpretations from an *Onomasticon*.¹ Because from the current version, to which both the Jewish and the Christian philosopher keep as a rule, there are found in the Gospel considerable divergences which appear to rest not upon a special improved translation of the Old Testament Scriptures, but upon a knowledge of the Hebrew text. What most directly points to a knowledge of Hebrew is the fact that the author not only is able to give a meaning and interpretation to names which he finds to his hand, or else (as in the case of Nathaniel) to express them by synonyms, but he even forms Aramaic words of his own like Bethesda."²

All this, except the last clause, seems to me first-rate in perception and appreciation; and I invite Dr. Schürer and those who agree with him to ask themselves if it is not strictly and emphatically true.

There is however another name which I have to quote, and to which I know that Dr. Schürer would listen with respect—that of his former colleague, Dr. Harnack. After saying that the origin of the Johannean writings is from the point of view of literature and doctrine the strangest enigma which the earliest history of Christianity has to offer, Dr. Harnack goes on:—

"To refer to Philo and Hellenism is by no means enough, inasmuch as they do not satisfactorily explain one external side of the problem. It is not Greek *theologoumena* which have been at work in the Johannean theology—even the Logos has in common with Philo's little more than the name—but from the ancient faith of Prophets and Psalmists, under the impression made by the Person of Jesus, a new faith has arisen. For this very reason the author must undoubtedly and in spite of his emphatic anti-Judaism, be held to be a born Jew, and his theology Christiano-Palestinian."³

¹ *Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.*, xxxii. 305ff.; Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 143f.

² *Die Genesis d. Johannes-Evangeliums*, pp., 786–788.

³ *Dogmengeschichte*, p. 66 (1st ed., 1886; p. 85, 2nd ed., 1898).

This is from the first edition of the *Dogmengeschichte*: there are some significant alterations in the second edition in the direction of a greater agreement with Schürer. The most important is in the last sentence but one, which now reads, "out of the ancient faith of Prophets and Psalmists *the testimony of the Apostles to Christ created a new faith in one who lived among Greeks with disciples of Jesus.*" In other words, it is no longer the direct impression of the Person of Jesus, but the same impression conveyed mediately through the apostolic preaching. Otherwise the points most directly bearing upon our subject—the dismissal of Greek *theologoumena*, the Philonian Logos like only in name, and the "ancient faith of Prophets and Psalmists"—remain intact, except that the Christiano-Palestinian theology has dropped out. An instructive passage, if one was attempting to analyse the position of this extremely able and energetic writer, in whose mind however I cannot help thinking that a number of disparate propositions lie collected, which his many occupations have not left him time thoroughly to correlate and harmonize. As a final opinion then upon the whole question, I confess that I do not think it important, but as reflecting the impression made upon a candid and highly competent critic, its value is considerable.

Schürer has expressed his views on the relation of the Gospel to the Old Testament and Alexandrianism more fully in a review of Franke's work on the *Old Testament in St. John*.¹ The article breathes all his usual moderation and care in judging. He rejects, I must needs think rightly, certain exaggerations into which Franke has been led.

"What Franke has proved, he says, is only this, that the Fourth Evangelist has held more firmly than Philo to the religious conceptions of the Old Testament; that he is far less influenced by Greek philosophy. But what reasonable person will deny this? For

¹ *Theol. Literatur-Zeitung*, 1886, col. i. ff.

Franke's thesis, which denies all Alexandrianism straight away, nothing is gained."

To this I assent. But then Schürer goes on to show that his own contention in favour of Alexandrian influence is practically concentrated upon the doctrine of the Logos. He criticises, again I think rightly, Franke's attempt to depreciate the points of contact between Philo and the Gospel, by reducing them to a single point, the tendency "to conceive of the creative Word hypostatically." I quite agree that that is a large matter and not a small one. But then I certainly think that in what follows Schürer in his turn has not done justice to the evidence which goes to show that this tendency to insert a personal or quasi-personal Being between God and the world was by no means confined to Philo or to Alexandria. We ought to allow in thought more than I suspect we do for the difference between the real distribution of facts and their apparent distribution on such evidence as happens to have come down to us. The writings of Philo are voluminous, and they have been preserved, possibly with some that are not his; and we do not know how much has been lost, especially in the fifty years which separate him from the Fourth Gospel, which might have suggested to the Evangelist similar ideas. Schürer, I feel convinced, is wrong in making light of the Targums. It may have been proved or rendered probable that the oldest extant Targum, the Targum (so called) of Onkelos, is not as we have it older than the third century. But within that there are I believe traces of an older substratum; and behind the written tradition there was an oral tradition which, from what we know of the Jews at this date, must have been conservative in its character. But apart altogether from the Targums we know that the tendency to which they gave expression by the introduction of the "Memra," was at work long before them. Traces of it

are found in the oldest parts of the Septuagint. But it was no monopoly of Alexandria, but extended more or less all over the East. For the proof that St. John might have arrived at his conception of the Logos without any save the remotest influence from Philo, we need not go outside the New Testament. Harnack says that the Philonian Logos and the Johannean have nothing in common but the name. We may go a step farther and add that St. Paul's doctrine and St. John's have everything in common but the name. If St. Paul wrote the Epistle to the Colossians, as I truly believe he did,¹ then St. John had a doctrine of the Logos ready made to his hand, and wanting only the name to make it complete. The Epistle to the Hebrews is another strong link in the chain. The substantial elements of the conception were all there. And we can well understand how almost any stray wind might blow in the direction of the Apostle, the one luminous word for which we may suppose him seeking.

The literary questions connected with the Apocalypse are of extreme difficulty, and in their present wholly unsettled state afford no argument either one way or the other bearing upon the genuineness of the Gospel. But in any case it is certain that the two works had their origin near each other; and the impressive revelation of the Word of God in Apoc. xix. 13 shows that the author of the Gospel must have had the conception very close to his hand.

It is difficult to believe that the Evangelist, whoever he was, had read a line of Philo. The difference between them is too fundamental. Philo is essentially a philosopher. His dominant interest is intellectual. It is true that he works in with this intellectual interest something of a moral and religious interest as well; but we can see

¹ It is interesting to note that in the recently published *Hand-Commentar* (Freiburg i. B., 1891) von Soden, who had previously maintained the existence of some not lengthy but rather important interpolations in the Epistle to the Colossians, now accepts the whole as genuine.

that his attention is engaged chiefly by the processes of thought, and his tendency is to express facts which might naturally have received a moral or religious interpretation in terms derived from those processes. His style and mode of treatment is florid and diffuse. All this is as different as possible from the Fourth Gospel. Here there is one absorbing interest, but its object is personal. It is the record of the Life of Jesus professedly (and does not the statement of the case almost constrain us to say, really?) by the disciple "whom Jesus loved." That fact is the centre round which all revolves. It carries with it no doubt far-reaching consequences—consequences for every individual who calls upon the same beloved name; consequences for the society which those individuals combine to form. And besides the external facts of the biography, there is a sense of something deeply mysterious in the Person of Him with whom it is concerned. The way in which He had spoken of Himself and of His Mission had linked both inseparably with the "ancient faith of Prophets and of Psalmists," and with their highest aspirations. When these were considered, when the new force which had been brought into society and the revolution it was effecting were considered, there seemed to emerge something not merely of local but of cosmical significance. An expression had to be found for that significance, and the Evangelist St. John, as we believe, hit upon the pregnant term *Logos*. It was already in the air; stray spores were flying about, and one of them was blown, as it were, across his path. It gave him just what he wanted. The keystone was dropped into the arch. There arose a system of thought, grandiose yet severely simple in its outlines. It would hardly be right to call it a philosophy. "These things are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in His name." That is not philosophical language.

Philo used, and used first, the same expression *Logos*, but its content was wholly different. With him the leading idea was Reason. The *Logos* of God was the active, creative Reason or Thought of God. With St. John the leading idea is Character and Will. The *Logos* of God is that agency through which, or the agent through whom, the Will of God expressed itself in the act of creation and in the conservation and energizing of things created. It is the agency by which, or the agent by whom, He has made known His will and character to men both in previous ages and conspicuously in the coming of the Messiah.

When once the idea was grasped that Jesus of Nazareth was the Word or personal manifestation of the Godhead, it was natural that round this central idea other subordinate ideas should group themselves, especially those connected with manifestations of Divine energy in contact with men. Such foundation texts as these were taken: "With Thee is the fountain of life: in Thy light we shall see light" (Ps. xxxvi. 9); "O send out Thy light and Thy truth; let them lead me" (Ps. xliii. 3); in both of which there is an idea of emission or procession which when a personal organ had been found for the revelation readily attached them to it. Such I believe to be the Old Testament roots of the conception, "In Him was life, and the life was the light of men"; "grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." Parallels are found in Philo;¹ but the metaphors are too obvious and elementary for any stress to be laid upon them. In any case, I do not think there can be any doubt as to the origin in the Old Testament and in essentially Jewish soil of a number of other leading Johannian conceptions: the "tabernacling" of the *Logos* among men; the Divine glory

¹ For instance, this is quoted from *Leg. Alleg.*, iii. 59, τὸ γὰρ ἂν εἴη λαμπρότερον ἢ τηλαυγέστερον θείου λόγου, οὐ κατὰ μετουσίαν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὴν ἀχλὺς καὶ τὸν ἴσθμον ἀπελαύνει, φωτὸς κοινωνῆσαι ψυχικοῦ γλιχομενα (Siegfried, *Philo*, p. 318).

or Shekinah; the Divine Name in its significant Jewish sense which occurs so often; the idea of "witness"; the idea of "signs"; the "water of life"; and, we may add, the "bread of life," with all that profound symbolism associated with it in chapter vi. The more closely the Gospel is studied, verse by verse from beginning to end, the more I feel sure will the reader rise up with the conviction that the base on which it primarily rests is the Old Testament. Many connections will come out on a closer study which do not lie upon the surface. One was pointed out to me lately¹ which I do not think I should have noticed, but which is very attractive when attention is called to it. It is well known what a leading idea with St. John is that of "lifting up" (*ὑψωθῆναι*) in connection with the Passion. The great mine of Christian thought in reference to the Passion is Isaiah liii.; but how is that passage introduced? "Behold My Servant . . . shall be exalted and extolled and be very high. As many were astonished at Thee," etc. (Isa. lii. 13 ff.). This "exalting" of the suffering Servant I believe to have given the hint to the stress which is laid on the exaltation of the crucified Saviour in the Gospel.

Just one passage might give us pause in disclaiming a dependence of the Fourth Gospel on Philo, the strongest in my opinion of all those that are adduced to prove the point. Not only do we find in Philo the term *Logos*, but also another leading term with St. John, *Paraclete*. The word occurs in a curious passage, *Vit. Mos.*, iii. 14. The high priest's dress is symbolical of the *cosmos*, his breastplate (*λόγιον*) naturally symbolical of the *Logos*; it was necessary that he should take this with him as a "paraclete" into the holy place. There is no real affinity between this and St. John xiv., xvi., but the coincidence in the word is at first sight striking. The word "paraclete" was however far more common than we might suppose. It is a legal term

¹ By Dr. C. A. Briggs, of New York.

apparently dating back to the Greek period. With its counterpart *κατήγορος* it is naturalized in the Talmud, and found even in the earliest treatise, the *Pirke Aboth*: the form *κατήγωρ* comes back from Hebrew to Greek in the corrected text of Revelation xii. 10.¹ There was therefore clearly no need to travel to Alexandria in order to have this word suggested.

With this the last mainstay of the Alexandrianizing theory seems to go, and the crowd of arguments² from geography, style, manners and customs, relation to the Old Testament modes of thought, is left in all its full force, proving that the author of the Gospel was a Jew of Palestine, no mere "bird of passage," but one who was there born and bred, and who drew in from Palestine his habits of thought and speech as from his native soil.

But is it so clear that the author was a contemporary and eye-witness? No doubt this is a point which involves more delicate argumentation. Schürer does not deal directly with this; he seems to think that enough is said when it is shown that the Evangelist had access to a good tradition. Mr. Cross comes to closer quarters, and he disputes at each step the validity of the inference.

Let us first consider what the argument is.

There was one moment in the history of the Church which when once it had passed did not return—the moment when the new faith was in the act of forming and bursting through the husk of the old. John the Baptist was a prophet like those of the old dispensation; he was looked upon askance by the ruling authorities of Jewish religion; they did not encourage his preaching; they suspected danger to themselves in the movement to which he gave the impulse; but there was nothing tangible which they could

¹ See especially the excellent *Excursus* on the word "Paraclete," by Archdeacon Watkins, in Bishop Ellicott's *Commentary for English Readers*.

² I do not repeat these arguments, which will be found in abundance in Westcott, Salmon, Watkins, Reynolds, Plummer, or any other commentary.

take hold of either to lay an interdict upon it or to threaten his person. The Prophet of Nazareth began in the same manner as His forerunner. He too preached repentance and the approach of the kingdom of heaven. Again there is evidence that from an early period the Pharisaic and hierarchical party had their suspicions aroused. But again there was nothing tangible for them to take hold of, and they were obliged to let the preaching take its course. Only by degrees did they attempt to check the freedom shown in the interpretation of the Law and in the treatment of Jewish institutions. Only by degrees did they become conscious that this new Teacher was not merely a liberal-minded candidate for the office and consideration of a Rabbi, but that He claimed to possess an authority different in kind from their own. Long before St. Peter's great confession there were floating about whispers and rumours that the Galilean Prophet was something more than a Prophet. He had reminded them of what had been said to them of old time, and then like a second Moses He had taken upon Him to pronounce, "But I say unto you," etc. He had had the presumption to declare the forgiveness of sins. On one occasion, contrasting the behaviour of previous generations with that of His own generation, He had said, "A greater than Solomon, a greater than Jonah, is here." In the meantime there were reports of wonderful works wrought by Him, not so much as signs of extraordinary power,—for when He was challenged to show such signs He repeatedly refused,—but as acts of mercy to the weak and suffering. All this generated a feeling of eager, if baffled, interest and expectation. Men were going about saying that the Messiah was among them. When they said "the Messiah," of course they meant what the Jews of that day understood by the Messiah, a leader armed with preternatural power, who would expel the Roman oppressor and inaugurate an age of supreme prosperity and glory for Israel. Starting

with such ideas, we can imagine that there would be almost as much to disappoint their hopes as to rouse them. Many signs had pointed to the immediate coming of the Messiah ; men said that Jesus of Nazareth was this Messiah ; and yet there was something so strangely pacific, quiet and unobtrusive about His whole character and mode of working, that it was hard to believe that He could be the Messiah indeed. The atmosphere was highly charged and sensitive ; a single spark would set the combustible materials all around in flame. Constantly that spark seemed to be on the point of falling, and still it was in some mysterious way held back. On one occasion in particular it was very near. Something strange had happened on the waste land to the east of the Sea of Galilee. Great crowds had collected, and their wants had been wonderfully supplied. A sudden enthusiasm seized them, and they tried to take their benefactor by force and make Him king.

From which of the Gospels is it that we get this trait so exactly true to the situation—a trait so true to the situation then, but by no means true permanently and at all times ? It was not at once that even the disciples were weaned of their expectation of temporal sovereignty. Yet they were weaned of it. The decisive and final lesson was taught by the fall of Jerusalem. From that time onwards we cannot but feel not only that such temporal expectations were impossible, but that it must very soon have come to be forgotten that they had ever existed. By that time the Christian idea of the Messiah was, if not wholly, yet so largely purged and clarified that the very memory of a state of things in which all the dross of the Jewish expectation still clung to it must have perished. We ask what Gospel it is which has so caught the flying moment, and we find that it is the Fourth.

But a touch like this is very far from standing alone. Let me recall a few more scenes from the same Gospel.

A deputation from the priestly members of the Sanhedrin, or rather—as we are expressly and precisely told—from the Pharisaic party in that body, comes down to John the Baptist at Bethany beyond Jordan to make a formal report upon his baptism for the guidance of their colleagues. They ask, Who is he?

“And he confessed, I am not the Christ. And they asked him, What then? Art thou Elijah? And he saith, I am not. Art thou the prophet? (cf Deut. xviii.) And he answered, No. They said therefore unto him, Who art thou, that we may give an answer to them that sent us? . . . And they asked him, and said unto him, Why then baptizest thou, if thou art not the Christ, neither Elijah, neither the prophet?”¹

The Jews well understood that this baptism of John's was no mere form, but that it symbolized a thorough moral reformation such as they connected with certain prophetic figures who were associated in their minds with the Messianic time. But how long can we suppose that this vivid recollection of John's baptism, and of the attitude of leaders and people towards it would remain after the generation to which it had been preached had perished?

A more advanced stage in the public ministry of Christ has been reached. There is a mingled state of almost feverish uncertainty and expectation about Him. It is the feast of tabernacles.

“The Jews therefore sought him at the feast, and said, Where is he?”² And there was much murmuring among the multitudes concerning him: some said, He is a good man; others said, Not so, but he leadeth the multitudes astray. Howbeit no man spake openly of him for fear of the Jews. But when it was now the midst of the feast, Jesus went up into the temple and taught. The Jews therefore marvelled, saying, How knoweth this man letters, having never learned?”³

The threatening temper of the Sanhedrin is known, so

¹ St. John i. 20-22, 25.

² I hope it will not be thought a want of reverence if I print this not in such a way as to express Christian feelings now, but in such a way as to show that it is really history reflecting the feelings actually entertained at the period to which it refers.

³ vii. 11-15.

that people speak under their breath. Is this really an impostor or not? Does He satisfy the conditions laid down for the Messiah? It is wonderful that He should have such insight, having never passed through any of the regular Rabbinical schools.

"Some of the multitude therefore, when they heard these words, said, This is of a truth the prophet. Others said, This is the Christ. But some said, What, doth the Christ come out of Galilee? Hath not the Scripture said that the Christ cometh of the seed of David, and from Bethlehem, the village where David was? So there arose division in the multitude because of him. And some of them would have taken him; but no man laid hands on him. The officers therefore came to the chief priests and Pharisees, and they said unto them, Why do ye not bring him? The officers answered, Never man so spake. The Pharisees therefore answered them, Are ye also led astray? Hath any of the rulers believed on him, or of the Pharisees? But this multitude which knoweth not the law are accursed. Nicodemus saith unto them, Doth our law judge a man except it first hear from himself and know what he doeth? They answered and said unto him, Art thou also of Galilee? Search and see that out of Galilee ariseth no prophet."¹

Not only Judaism, but Palestinian Judaism, not only Palestinian Judaism, but contemporary Palestinian Judaism—not the shattered and broken school of Jamnia, but the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem in all its pride and power—is here.

Just one picture of another kind.

"Is this your son, who ye say was born blind? how then doth he now see? His parents answered and said, We know that this is our son, and that he was born blind; but how he now seeth we know not, or who opened his eyes we know not: ask him; he is of age; he shall speak for himself. These things said his parents because they feared the Jews; for the Jews had agreed already that if any man should confess him to be Christ he should be put out of the synagogue. Therefore said his parents, He is of age; ask him. So they called a second time the man that was blind, and said unto him, Give glory to God: we know that this man is a sinner."²

¹ vii. 40-52. On the small esteem in which Galilee was held at Jerusalem see Neubauer, *Géographie du Talmud*, p. 75 f.; *Stud. Bibl.*, i. 51.

² ix. 19-24.

The whole of this narrative is redolent of Jewish ideas: at the outset the notion that the man's blindness must be a punishment for sin, his own or his parents; the interpretation given to the name Siloam (which really means "sending forth," "jet," or "discharge" of waters); and then the whole controversy, the idea that only wise and good men could work wonders (on which see the Talmudic parallels in Wünsche),¹ excommunication and the final advice, "Give glory to God: we know that this man is a sinner."

But what is to be observed is not only that the ideas are Jewish, but that they relate to, and fit in exactly with, a particular state of things. It is exactly the sort of controversy which would inevitably arise when such works as Jesus did and such claims as Jesus made came into collision with the fixed ideas of the Pharisees.

But one more example of a page taken straight from the life.

"Jesus therefore walked no more openly among the Jews, but departed thence into the country near to the wilderness into a city called Ephraim; and there he tarried with his disciples. Now the passover of the Jews was at hand, and many went up to Jerusalem out of the country before the passover to purify themselves. They sought therefore for Jesus, and spake one with another as they stood in the temple. What think ye? That he will not come to the feast? Now the chief priests and the Pharisees had given commandment that if any man knew where he was, he should show it that they might take him."²

Be it remembered that with the Fall of Jerusalem the Jewish ritual system came to an end. There seems to have survived a practice of going up at festival times to the Rabbinical centre at Jamnia and consulting the doctors there.³ But this can only have been the merest shadow of the former pilgrimages to the feasts at Jerusalem. What experience of these could suggest to a writer of the second

¹ *Erläuterungen d. Evangelien* (Göttingen, 1878) *ad loc.*

² xi. 54-57.

³ See Renan, *Les Évangiles*, p. 21, and authorities there quoted.

century that graphic picture of the stream beginning to flow towards the city (not from the Dispersion but) from the surrounding country, with a detail which would never have occurred but to one with special knowledge, "to purify themselves" for the passover?

But then, argues Mr. Cross, there are parallels to some of the allusions in the controversy with the Jews in Justin. True, there are such parallels: the instance is aptly chosen because Justin is, I think, the only, or almost the only, writer in which parallels with any point in them could be found. We may perhaps let pass the appellation "Gentile Christian," which Mr. Cross gives to Justin,¹ because though he calls himself a Samaritan, and though he was born at Neapolis (Sichem) in the heart of the Holy Land, he was brought up as a heathen. Still with him the controversy of the Jews was a real controversy: he had been engaged in it much and often: and the *Dialogue with Trypho* contains the literary harvest of actual living experience.² In this it differs from most subsequent treatises against the Jews which are as a rule artificial and rhetorical, in which the writers do not aim so much at the conversion of the Jews as at commending the argument from prophecy to their own co-religionists.³

But Justin deals with the Jewish controversy in one manner, the author of the Fourth Gospel deals with it in another. We have seen how consistently, how pointedly, with how many minute side-touches of subsidiary detail, the latter always places himself at the true standpoint of the situation with which he is dealing. If I am asked whether it was impossible for a writer well acquainted with his subject to throw himself imaginatively into these posi-

¹ *Crit. Rev.*, Feb., 1891, p. 157 n.

² Trypho says that ἐκ πολλῆς προστρέψεως τῆς πρὸς πολλούς, he had an answer ready for every objection (c. 50).

³ Harnack in *Texte u. Untersuch.*, i. 2, 63 ff.

tions and describe them as the Evangelist does, I would not say that it is absolutely impossible. I may have used the word before this, but in deference to Mr. Cross' arguments I withdraw it and modify the opinion to that extent. But if I am asked whether it is probable, and the solution thus suggested of the phenomena of the Gospel a satisfactory solution, I should answer unhesitatingly in the negative.

What has just been said may be taken to cover the further question as to whether the author of the Gospel was an eye-witness. If he was a contemporary, he was in all probability an eye-witness as well. I will concede a little more to Mr. Cross under this head. The narrative is studded with features which receive a natural explanation if it is the work of an eye-witness; but it would be too much to say that, taken by themselves, they *prove* it to be the work of an eye-witness. Conceivably they may be a "counterfeit presentment" drawn from the imagination and not from life. Mr. Cross has made something of a point when he maintains that it is not probable that St. John was present at all the scenes which he relates with such graphic detail. It would be rather too much to assume that he was not: he may have been present at Jacob's well, or in the chamber during the visit of Nicodemus, and on several other occasions to which Mr. Cross takes exception, still the chances are against his having been present at all of them. I am quite satisfied with the way in which Mr. Cross states the case for me, viz., "that the writer, having witnessed most of the scenes which he describes, naturally carries into other scenes which did not come within his own observation the habit of presenting the well-known figures as if he was still looking at them with his bodily eyes."¹ I will not say that the proof is stringent, that it is the kind of proof on which we should hang a man; but I do say that taken along with

¹ *Westminster Review*, Aug., 1890, p. 173.

the other considerations already stated it is the best account of the facts within our reach.¹

If we frankly accept the Johannean authorship of the Gospel, then it seems to me that all the characteristics of it which we have noted fall easily and duly into their places. Even those which are adverse to its complete historical accuracy seem to me to find a better explanation on this hypothesis than on any other. A second-century romance-writer, even supposing that he had the learning and the imagination, would not have had the weight and depth and force and sublimity to produce a Gospel such as this. It is equally difficult to believe that one possessed of these commanding qualities, in near proximity to an age of great literary productiveness, should have passed away entirely without a name. On the other hand, if the discourses in particular have been unconsciously shaped and moulded by the writer, it is just because he had too powerful and creative a mind for them to come out of it exactly as they were taken in. A mind like St. John's was not a sheet of white paper, on which impressions once made remained just as they were; it must needs impart to them some infusion of its own substance; and if there is something of masterfulness in the process, who had a better right, or who was more likely to exercise this freedom, than the last surviving Apostle, who had himself lain upon the bosom of the Lord?

W. SANDAY.

¹ Of the detailed criticisms which Mr. Cross directs against my youthful essay (*W.R.*, pp. 177-181) I will only say that the majority of them relate rather to what might be called "picturesque accessories" than arguments. I set no great store by the order in the expulsion from the Temple (St. Mark is relatively the most graphic of the Synoptics and comes I should say next to St. John); I have no wish to press *ἀναισθήτων*, or "and it was night," if my view of them is questioned; but I still hold stoutly to *μετὰ γυναικός*, and I think that most Greek scholars will agree with me; in this instance I do not think the argument unimportant.

THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND.

III.

THE CENTRAL RANGE, AND THE BORDERS OF JUDÆA.

OVER the Maritime Plain and Shephelah,¹ we advance upon the Central Range. After the Shephelah, our immediate goal should be that part of the Range which is called the hill country of Judæa. But it is necessary first to say something of the Range as a whole.

A long, deep formation of limestone, bounded on the east by the Jordan valley, extends all the way from Lebanon on the north to a line of cliffs opposite the gulf and canal of Suez, the southern wall of the great Desert of the Wandering. In Lebanon this limestone is disposed mainly in lofty ranges running north and south; in Upper Galilee it descends to a plateau surrounded by hills; in Lower Galilee it is a series of still less elevated ranges running east and west. Then it sinks to the Plain of Esdraelon, not, however, without signs of having once crossed this plain in a series of ridges.² South of Esdraelon it rises again, and sends forth a high branch in Carmel to the sea, but the main range continues parallel to the Jordan valley. Scattering at first through Samaria into separate mountain groups, it consolidates towards Bethel upon the narrow tableland of Judæa, with an average height of 2,200 feet, continues so to the south of Hebron, and then by broken and sloping strata lets itself down, widening the while, on to the plateau of the Desert of the Wandering.³

¹ See EXPOSITOR for February and March.

² *e.g.* at Shêkh Abrek and at Lejjun.

³ The clearest and most summary account of the geology of Palestine will be found in the Memoir prepared for the Palestine Exploration Fund by Prof. Hull (London, 1888). The maps are very helpful, so are the sections at the end of the volume. I may take this opportunity of remarking how much less used the publications of the Pal. Expl. Fund are than they ought to be. The

Of this backbone of Syria the portion between Esdraelon and the desert plateau is the most definite, as it is historically the most famous. Those ninety miles of narrow highland, from Mount Gilboa to Beersheba, were the chief theatre of the history of Israel. As you look from the sea, they form a persistent mountain wall of nearly uniform level rising clear and blue above the low hills which buttress it to the west. How the heart throbs as the eye sweeps that long and steadfast sky-line! For just behind, upon a line nearly coincident with the waterparting between Jordan and the Mediterranean, lie Shechem, Shiloh, Bethel, Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron. Of only one of all these does any sign appear. Towards the north end of the range two bold round hills break the skyline with evidence of a deep valley between them. The hills are Ebal and Gerizim, and in the valley lies Nābulus, the ancient Shechem.

That the eye is thus drawn from the first upon the position of Shechem, while all the other chief sites of Israel's life lie hidden away and are scarcely to be seen till you come upon them, is a very remarkable fact. It is a witness to the natural, an explanation of the historical, precedence, which was enjoyed by this capital over her more famous sister, Jerusalem. We shall return to the contrast again. Meantime it is enough to note that cleft between Ebal and Gerizim as the one sign of a pass cutting through the Central Range.

But uniform as that persistent range appears from the chief results of the great Survey, along with a whole library of historical information, are to be had in a cheap and attractive form. I ought to have mentioned before that the best map for the ordinary student is the last edition published by the Fund of the reduced Survey map (2½ miles to the inch), with O. T. names in red, N. T. in blue, etc. If the student or the traveller exercises caution with regard to the somewhat too numerous identifications, he will find this map by far the most informing and suggestive. The *Neue Handkarte von Palästina*, by Fischer and Guthe, on a scale of 1:700,000, with an alphabetical index and list of authorities (Leipzig: Wagner & Debes, 1890), is very good indeed, and costs only two shillings. But when shall we get a good orographical map of Palestine, or a reliable relief map?

coast, almost the first thing you remember as you look at it is the prolonged political and religious division of which it was capable,—first into the kingdoms of Northern Israel and Judah, and then into the provinces of Samaria and Judæa. Those ninety narrow miles sustained the arch-schism of history. Fields of the same Divine revelation, they are perhaps the strongest proof of how little room men need to keep bitterly apart,—men of the same family, and standing together in the very face of the Light. Where did the line of this schism run? Did it correspond to any natural division in the range itself?

A closer observation shows that there was a natural boundary between northern and southern Israel. But its ambiguity is a curious symbol of the uncertain frontier of their religious differences.

We have seen, first, that the bulk of Samaria is scattered mountain groups, while Judæa is a tableland; and, secondly, that while the Samaritan mountains descend continuously through the low hills upon the Maritime Plain, the hill country of Judæa stands aloof from the Shephelah Range, with a well-defined valley between.¹ Now these two physical differences do not coincide: the tableland of Judæa runs farther north than its isolation from the low hills. Consequently we have an alternative of frontiers. If we take the difference between the relations of the two provinces to the Maritime Plain, the natural boundary will be the Vale of Ajalon, which penetrates the Central Range, and a line from it across the waterparting to the Wady Suweinit, the deep gorge of Michmash, which will continue the boundary to the Jordan at Jericho. If we take the distinction between the scattered hills and the tableland, then the natural boundary from the coast will be the river 'Auja, the Wadies Deir Balût and Nimr, and a line across the waterparting to the Wadies Samieh and El 'Anjah,

¹ *Expositor* for February, p. 191.

which will continue the boundary to the Jordan, eight miles above Jericho.¹ For it is just where this second line crosses the waterparting, about the Robber's Well on the high road from Jerusalem to Nâbulus, that travellers coming north find the country change. They have descended from the plateau, and their road onward lies through valleys and plains, with ridges between. A little farther north, however, there is a third and even more evident border in the Wady Ishar, a northerly branch of the Wady Deir Balût that runs north-east, deep and straight to Akrabbah.

Thus we have not one, but three possible frontiers across the range: south of Bethel, the line from the head of Ajalon to the gorge of Michmash; north of Bethel, the change from tableland to valley, with deep wadies running both to Jordan and to the coast; and, more northerly still, the Wady Ishar. None of these is by any means a "scientific frontier," and their ambiguity is reflected in the fortunes of the political border. The political border oscillated among these three natural borders.

Thus, to begin with, in the days of Saul, Israel and the Philistines faced each other across the gorge at Michmash;² and while David was king only of Judah, his soldiers sat down opposite to Abner's at Gibeon, on a line between Ajalon and the Michmash valley.³ The same line seems to have been the usual frontier between the kingdoms of Northern Israel and Judah, for Bethel was a sanctuary of the former under Jeroboam and Jehu, and in the days of Amos and Hosea.⁴ But while the vale of Ajalon and the gorge of Michmash are strong frontiers, the plateau between them offers no line of division at all, but stretches away quite level to the north of Bethel. Hence we find Bethel,

¹ Trelawney Saunders, *Introd. to Survey of W. Palestine*, p. 229.

² 1 Sam. xiii., xiv.

³ 2 Sam. ii. 13.

⁴ 1 Kings xii. 29; 2 Kings x. 29; Amos iii. 14, iv. 4, vii. 10, 13; Hosea x. 15.

passing more than once from the northern to the southern power. Soon after the disruption of the kingdoms, Abijah won it for Judah,¹ but it reverted to the north. When the kingdom of Israel fell, and the land held only scattered colonies of foreigners, Bethel seems to have come once more into the power of Judah; but it was a tainted place,² and Geba, to the south of Michmash, is mentioned as the northerly limit of Josiah's kingdom.³ After the Exile, the border of Judæa lay to the north of Bethel, which was a well-known Judæan village,⁴ and was fortified by the Macca-bees.⁵ From this time the Jews must have encroached upon Samaritan territory; till, according to the few data given by Josephus, the frontier was pushed north to the Wady Ishar, as much as twelve miles from Bethel and only eight from Shechem.⁶ This left a very narrow strip to the Samaritans, but the strip probably extended to Jordan. Therefore to go *through Samaria*, our Lord and His disciples had only some twenty-three miles to cover,⁷ while if they wished to avoid Samaria altogether, they must needs cross Jordan.

The real border between Samaria and Judæa lay, therefore, sometimes to the north, sometimes to the south, of Bethel. Having defined it, we may now pass to a survey of the Range to the south of it,—the province of Judæa.

JUDÆA AND ITS BORDERS.

Physically the most barren part of the Holy Land, Judæa, is morally by far the most sacred and glorious. Taken in pledge for God's people by the dust of their patriarchs—dust which still sleeps in one of its caves—Judæa

¹ 2 Chron. xiii. 19.

² 2 Kings xxiii. 4, 15.

³ *From Geba to Beersheba*: 2 Kings xxiii. 8.

⁴ Ezra ii. 28; Neh. vii. 32.

⁵ 1 Macc. ix. 50.

⁶ Josephus, *Bell.*, iii. 3, 5. 4; Conder, *Handbook*, pp. 306, 307. The determination of this boundary between Samaria and Judæa is due to the Pal. Explor. Fund Survey. Cf. their *Statement* for 1881, p. 48.

⁷ That is by the present high road from the W. Ishar, past Sychar, to Jennin or En-Gannim.

for the most of their history remained the only region assigned them by God, on which their liberty was secure, or their patriotism triumphant. It was the seat of their sacred dynasty, the site of their temple, the platform of all their chief prophets. After their great Exile they were rallied round its capital, and upon its fortresses they expended, centuries later, the final efforts of their freedom. From 2000 B.C., when Abraham encamped at Hebron, to 70 A.D., when at Masada, only sixteen miles away, the remnant of the garrison of Jerusalem slaughtered themselves out rather than fall into Roman hands, or till 136 A.D., when at Bether, but five miles from Bethlehem, the revolt of Bar-cochba was crushed by Hadrian,—Judæa was the birthplace, the stronghold, the sepulchre of God's people. It is, therefore, not wonderful that they should have taken from it the name, which is now more frequent than either their ancestral designation of Hebrews, or their sacred title of Israel. "The Jew" has suffered from the contempt of the foreigners who first used the term, as well as from the sordid associations of much of modern Judaism; but surely it is glorious to inherit the name of a land in which Abraham, Samuel, David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Maccabees prayed and prophesied, built and fought and reigned.

For us Christians it is enough to remember that Judæa contains the places of our Lord's Birth and Death, with the scenes of His Temptation, His more painful Ministry, and His Agony.

Judæa is very small. Even when you extend it to its ideal border at the sea, and include all of it that is desert, it does not amount to more than 2,000 square miles, or the size of one of our average counties.¹ But Judæa, in the days of its independence never covered the whole Maritime Plain, and even the Shephelah, as we have seen, was frequently beyond it. Apart from Shephelah and Plain,

¹ Aberdeenshire is 1,970 square miles; Yorkshire, about 4,500.

Judæa was a region 55 miles long, from Bethel to Beer-sheba, and from 25 to 30 broad, or about 1,350 square miles, of which nearly the half was desert.

It ought not to be difficult to convey an adequate impression of so small and so separate a province. The centre is a high and broken table-land from two to three thousand feet above the sea, perhaps thirty-five miles long by twelve to seventeen broad.¹ But before I describe this central plateau, let us get some idea of the even more important boundaries which buttress and defend it—boundaries which have so largely made the land what it is and press themselves so constantly upon the feelings of the inhabitants.

1. TO THE EAST.—You cannot live in Judæa without being daily aware of the presence of that awful valley which bounds it on the east—the lower Jordan and the Dead Sea. From Bethel, from Jerusalem, from Bethlehem, from Tekoa, from the heights above Hebron, and from fifty points between you see that gulf; and sometimes you feel Judæa rising from it about you, as a sailor feels his narrow deck or a sentinel the sharp-edged platform of his high fortress. From the hard limestone of the range on which you stand, the land sinks swiftly, and, as it seems, shuddering, through softer formations, desert and chaotic, to a depth of which you cannot see the bottom, but you know that it falls far below the level of the ocean to the coasts of a waste and bitter sea. Beyond this emptiness rise the hills of Moab, high and precipitous, and it is their bare edge, almost unbroken, and with nothing visible beyond it, save a castle or a crag, which forms the eastern horizon of Judæa. The depth, the haggard desert through which the land sinks to it, the uniqueness of that gulf and of its

¹ From the centre of the Wady Ali to the Eastern base of the Mount of Olives (1,520 feet above the sea) is fourteen miles. From the W. en Nagil on the Shephelah border to the descent from the plateau east of Mar Saba is about seventeen miles; and a line across Hebron from edge to edge of the plateau gives about fourteen miles.

prisoned sea, and the deep barrier beyond, conspire to produce upon the inhabitants of Judæa a moral effect, such as, I suppose, is created by no other boundary in the world.

It was only, however, when I had crossed into Moab that I fully appreciated the significance of that frontier in the history of God's separated people. The table-land of Moab to the east of the Dead Sea is about the same height as the table-land of Judæa to the west, and is almost of exactly the same physical formation. On both of them there are landscapes on which it would be impossible for you to gather, whether you were in Judah or in Moab—impossible but for one thing, the feeling of what you have to the east of you. To the east of Judah there is that great gulf fixed. But Moab to the east rolls off almost imperceptibly into Arabia—a few low hills, and no river or valley, between her pastures and the great deserts out of which in all ages wild and hungry tribes have been ready to swarm. Moab is open to the east; Judah, with the same formation, imposing the same habits of life on a kindred stock of men, has a gulf between her and the east, and in this broad fact lies a very large part of the reason why Judah was chosen as the home of God's peculiar people.

The wilderness of Judæa, which rises from the Dead Sea to the centre of the land, will be best studied in connection with its influence on the people. Here it is necessary only to ask what passes lead up through it from the Jordan and the Dead Sea. There are, to begin with, the roads up from Jericho,—north-west to Bethel, and south-west to Jerusalem—roads which do not keep to any great lines of valley, for here the mountains are cut only by deep gorges, but for the most part traverse the ridges between the latter. It was by the more northerly of these easily defended roads that Israel invaded the central plateau. Joshua came up from Jericho to the north of the

Michmash Gorge. But we do not read of any other invasion of Judæa, either here, or by any gorge leading up from the Dead Sea, except twenty-eight miles north of Jericho, at En-Gedi. It was at En-Gedi that the Kenites succeeded in establishing themselves in a fortress, from which they afterwards conquered the south of Judah,¹ and it was by the pass of En-Gedi that the children of Moab and the children of Ammon came up against King Jehoshaphat to battle.² Farther south in the dreary desert, as it falls towards the precipices of the Dead Sea, the traveller comes across unmistakable traces of a great military road.³ But this, even if it was made before the Romans came, was a purely inland passage—a connecting way between the Judæan fortress of Masada and the centre of the land.

2. THE SOUTH.—The survey of the southern border of Judæa leads us out upon a region of immense extent and of great historical interest—the Negeb, translated *The South* in our version,⁴ but literally meaning the Dry or Parched Land. The character and the story of the Negeb require a separate study: here we are concerned with it only as the southern border of Judæa.

From Hebron the Central Range lets itself slowly down by broad undulations, through which the great Wady Khulil winds, as far as Beersheba,⁵ and then, as Wady es-Seba turns sharply to the west, finding the sea near Gaza. It is a country visited by annual rains, with at least a few perennial springs, and in the early summer abundance of flowers and corn. We descended from Hebron to Dhâheriy-

¹ Num. xxiv. 21.

² 2 Chron. xx.

³ We found these fragments in a line making straight for the edge of the precipice above Masada; but how it ever passed down the cliffs it was impossible to discover. It had been a road suitable for wheeled vehicles, but mules can scarcely get down to Masada now.

⁴ e.g. Gen. xiii. 1; 1 Sam. xxx. 1; Psa. cxxvi. 4.

⁵ El-Khulil, "the friend," that is, of God, a title of Abraham, is also the modern name of his city, Hebron, near which the Wady starts.

ah, probably the site of Kiriath-Sepher, through wheatfields, arranged in the narrower wadies in careful terraces, and lavishly spread over many of the broader valleys. A rank scrub covered most of the slopes. There were olive groves about the villages, but few trees elsewhere. We passed four springs, two with tracts of marshy ground, and though it was the end of April, some heavy showers fell. South of Dhâheriyah the country is more bare, but travellers coming up from the desert delight in the verdure which meets them as soon as they have passed Beersheba and the Wady es-Seba.¹ The disposition of the land—the gentle descent cut by the broad Wady—and its fertility render it as open a frontier and as easy an approach to Judæa as it is possible to conceive. But it does not roll out upon the level desert. South of Beersheba, before the level desert is reached and the region of roads from Arabia to Egypt and Philistia, there lie sixty miles of mountainous country, mostly disposed in “steep ridges running east and west,”² whose inaccessibility is further certified by the character of the tribe that roam upon it. More wild and isolated sons of Ishmael are not to be found on all the desert.³ The vegetation, even after rain, is excessively meagre, and in summer totally disappears. “No great route now leads, or ever has led, through this district”;⁴ but the highways which gather upon the south of it from Egypt, Sinai, the Gulf of Akabah and Arabia, it thrusts either to the east of it up the Wady Arabah to the Dead Sea, or to the west towards Gaza and Philistia. Paths indeed skirt this region and even cross its corners, but they are not war paths. When Judah’s frontier extended to Elath, Solomon’s cargoes from Ophir,⁵ and the tribute of Arabian Kings to Jehoshaphat⁶ were doubtless carried through it. When any one power held the whole

¹ Robinson : *Biblical Researches* (1st ed.), 305, 306.

² Robinson, *Id.*, 275.

³ The Azazimeh; cf. Trumbull : *Kadesh-Barnea*.

⁴ Robinson, as above.

⁵ 1 Kings ix. 16.

⁶ 1 Kings ix. 26.

land, merchants traversed it from Petra to Hebron or Gaza, or skirted it by the Roman road that ran up the west of it from Akabah to Jerusalem;¹ and even whole tribes might drift across it in days when Judah had no inhabitants to resist them. When the Jews came back from exile, they found Edomites settled as far north as Hebron. But no army of invasion, knowing that opposition awaited them upon the Judæan frontier, would venture across those steep and haggard ridges, especially when the Dead Sea and Gaza routes lie so convenient on either hand, and lead to regions so much more fertile than the Judæan plateau.

Hence we find Judæa almost never invaded from the south. Chedorlaomer's great expedition, on its return from the desert of Paran, swept south by the Arabah to the cities of the plain, sacking En-Gedi by the way, but leaving Hebron untouched.² Israel themselves were repulsed seeking to enter the Promised Land by this frontier; and—perhaps most significant of all—the invasion by Islam, though its chief goal may be said to have been the Holy City of Jerusalem, and though its nearest road to this lay past Hebron, also swerved to the east, and, like Israel, entered Judah from the Jordan valley after the conquest of eastern Palestine. The most likely foes to swarm upon Judah by the slopes of Hebron were the natives of this wild desert, the *Arabians*, or, as they were called from the Red Sea³ to Philistia,⁴ the *Amalekites*; but it is to be remarked that though they sometimes invaded the Negeb,⁵ they must have been oftener attracted, as they still are, to the more fertile and more easily overrun fields of the Philistines. It was *nine furlongs from Jamnia* that Judas Maccabeus defeated in a great battle *the nomads of Arabia*.⁶ The proper de-

¹ Tabulæ Peutingeriana.

² Gen. xiv.

³ Exod. xvii. 8.

⁴ 1 Sam. xxx. 1.

⁵ 1 Sam. xxx. 1.; 2 Chron. xxvi. 1.

⁶ 2 Macc. xii. 11.

fences against these impetuous swarms of warriors are strong towers, such as still protect the great Hajj road from Syria to Mecca from the Bedouin, and of these Uzziiah built a number in the desert to the south and east of Judah. The symbolic use of towers in the Bible is well-known.¹

The most notable road across this border of Judah was the continuation of the great highway from Bethel, which kept the watershed to Hebron, and thence came down to Beersheba. From here it struck due south across the western ridges of the savage Highland district, and divided into several branches. One, the Roman road already noticed, curved round the south of the Highland district to Akabah and Arabia; another, the way perhaps of Elijah when he fled from Jezebel,² and much used by mediæval and modern pilgrims, crossed to Sinai; while a third struck direct north upon Egypt, the *way to Shur*. By this last Abraham passed and repassed through the Negeb,³ Hagar, the Egyptian slave woman, fled from her mistress, perhaps with some wild hope of reaching her own country;⁴ and Jacob went down into Egypt with his waggons.⁵ In times of alliance between Egypt and Judah, this was the way of communication between them. So that fatal embassy must have gone from Jerusalem, which Isaiah describes as struggling in *the land of trouble and anguish, whence are the young lion and the old lion, the viper and fiery flying serpent*;⁶ and so in the time of the Crusades, those rich caravans passed from Cairo to Saladin at Jerusalem, one of which Richard intercepted near Beersheba.⁷ It is an open road, but a wild one, and was never, it would seem, used for the invasion of Judæa from Egypt.⁸ The nearer way to Syria from Egypt lay, as we have seen, along the

¹ Cf. Doughty: *Arabia Deserta* i. 13.

² 1 Kings xix.

³ Gen xiii. 1.

⁴ Gen. xvi. 7.

⁵ Gen. xlv. 1.

⁶ Isa. xxx. 6.

⁷ *Expositor* for February, p. 208..

⁸ We do not know how Shishak came up in Jerusalem..

coast, and passing up the Maritime Plain, left the hill country of Judæa to the east.

This then was the southern frontier of Judah, in itself an easy access, with one trunk-road, but barred by the great desert ridges to the south of it, and enjoying even greater security from the fact of its more lofty and barren position between two regions of such attractiveness to invaders as the valley of the Jordan and the Plain of Philistia. Before we leave this region, it is well to notice that the broad barrier of rough highlands to the south of Beersheba represents the difference between the ideal and the practical borders of the Holy Land. Practically the land extended from Dan to Beersheba, where, during the greater part of history, the means of settled cultivation came to an end; but the ideal border was the River of Egypt, the present Wady el Arish, whose chief tributary comes right up to the foot of the highlands south of Beersheba, and passes between them and the level desert beyond.

3. THE WEST.—The ideal boundary of Judæa on the west was the Mediterranean, but, as we have seen, the Maritime Plain was never in Jewish possession (except for a short time in the days of the Maccabees), and even the Shephelah was debatable ground and as often out of Judah as within it. The most frequent border therefore of Judah to the west, was the edge of the Central Range. In the previous paper on the Shephelah it was pointed out in detail how real a frontier this was. A long series of valleys running south from Ajalon to Beersheba separate the low loose hills of the Shephelah from the lofty compact range to the east—the *hill country of Judæa*. This great barrier, which repelled the Philistines, even when they had conquered the Shephelah, is penetrated by a number of defiles, none more broad than those of Beth-Horon, of the Wadi Ali along which the present high-road to Jerusalem travels,

and of the Wady Surar up which the railway is to run. Few are straight, most of them sharply curve. The sides are steep, and often precipitous, frequently with no path up them, save the rough torrent bed, arranged in rapids of loose shingle, or in level steps of the limestone strata, which, particularly at the mouth of the defile, are tilted almost perpendicularly into easily defended obstacles of passage. The sun beats fiercely down upon the limestone; the springs are few, though sometimes very generous; a low thick bush fringes all the brows, and caves abound and tumbled rocks.¹

Everything conspires to give the few inhabitants easy means of defence against large armies. It is a country of ambushes, entanglements, surprises, where large armies have no room to fight, and the defenders can remain hidden; where the essentials for war are nimbleness and the sure foot, the power of scramble and of rush. We see it all in the eighteenth Psalm: *By thee do I run through a troop, and by my God do I leap over a wall; the God that girdeth me with strength and maketh my way perfect. He maketh my feet like hinds' feet and setteth me on my high places. Thou hast enlarged my steps under me, and my feet have not slipped.*

Yet with negligent defenders the western border of Judæa is quickly penetrated. Six hours at the most will bring an army up any of the defiles, and then they stand on the central plateau, within a few easy miles of Jerusalem or of Hebron. So it happened in the days of the Maccabees. The Syrians, repelled at Beth-horon, and at the Wady Ali, penetrated twice the unwatched defiles to the south, the second time with a large number of elephants, of which we are told that they had to come up

¹ I describe from my observation of the Wady el-Kuf from Beit-Gibrin to Hebron, and of three defiles that run up from the W. en. Nagil to the plateau about Beit, Atab.

the narrow gorges in single file.¹ What a sight the strange, huge animals must have been, pushing up the narrow path, and emerging for the first and almost only time in history on that plateau above! On both occasions the Syrians laid siege to Beth-sur, the stronghold on the edge of the plateau, which Judas had specially fortified for the western defence of the country. The first time they were beaten back down the gorges; but the second time, with the elephants, Beth-sur fell, and the Syrian army advanced on Jerusalem. After that all attacks from the west failed, and the only other successful Syrian invasion was from the north.²

4. THE NORTH.—The narrow tableland of Judæa continues ten miles to the north of Jerusalem, before it breaks into the valleys and mountains of Samaria. These last ten miles of the Judæan plateau—with steep gorges on the one side to the Jordan and on the other to Ajalon—were the debatable land across which, as we have seen, the most accessible frontier of Judæa fluctuated; and, therefore, they became the site of more fortresses, sieges, forays, battles and massacres, than perhaps any other part of the country. Their appearance matches their violent history. A desolate and fatiguing extent of rocky platforms and ridges, of moorland strewn with boulders and fields of shallow soil thickly mixed with stone—they are more fit for the building of barriers than for the cultivation of food. They were the territory of Benjamin, in whose blood, at the time of the awful massacre of the tribe by Judah,³ they received the baptism of their history. As you cross them their aspect recalls the fierce temper of their inhabitants. *Benjamin shall ravin as a wolf*, father of sons, who, noble or ignoble, were always passionate and unsparing,—Saul, Shimei, Jeremiah, and he that *breathed out threatenings and slaughter against the disciples of the Lord*, and *was exceeding mad*

¹ Josephus, *Antiquities*, xii. 9.

² By Bacchides, in 160.

³ Judges xx. 5.

against them. In such a region of blood and tears Jeremiah beheld the figure of the nation's woe: A voice is heard in Ramah, lamentation and bitter weeping, Rachel weeping for her children: she refuseth to be comforted for her children, because they are not.

But it is as a frontier that we have now to do with those ten northmost miles of the Judæan plateau. Upon the last of them three roads concentrate—an open highway from the west by Gophna, the great north road from Shechem, and a road from the Jordan valley through the passes of Mount Ephraim. Where these draw together, about three miles from the end of the plateau, stood Bethel, a sanctuary before the Exile, thereafter a strong city of Judah.¹ But Bethel, where she stood, could not by herself keep the northern gate of Judæa. For behind her to the south emerge the roads we have already followed—that from the Jordan by Ai and those from Ajalon up the gorges and ridge of Beth-horon. The Ai route is covered by Michmash, where Saul and Jonathan were entrenched against the Philistine, and where the other Jewish hero who was called Jonathan-Maccabæus,—held for a time his headquarters.² The Beth-horon roads were covered by Gibeon,³ the frontier post between David and Saul's house.⁴ Between Michmash and Gibeon there are six miles, and on these lie others of the strong points that stood forth in the invasion and defence of this frontier:—Geba, long the limit of Judah to the north;⁵ Ramah, which Baasha, king of Israel, built for a blockade against Judah;⁶ Adasa, where Judas Maccabæus pitched against Nicanor, coming up from Beth-horon.⁷ These, with Michmash and Gibeon, formed a line of defence that was valid against the Ajalon and Ai ascents, as well as against the level approach from the north.

¹ 1 Macc. ix. 50.

² Josephus, XIII. *Antiquities*, i. 6.

³ Josh. x. 1–12.

⁴ 2 Sam. ii. 12, 13.

⁵ 2 Kings xxiii. 8.

⁶ 1 Kings xv. 17.

⁷ Josephus, XII. *Antiquities*, x. 5.

The earlier invasions delivered upon this frontier of Judah are difficult to follow. Before it was a frontier, in the days of Saul, the Philistines overran it probably from Ajalon; Saul's centre was in Michmash. Whether in their attacks upon Jerusalem¹ Joash or Rezin and Pekah crossed it, it is impossible to say; probably the latter at least came up from the Arabah. Isaiah pictures a possible march this way by the Assyrians after the fall of Samaria. *He is come upon Ai; marcheth through Migron, at Michmash musters his baggage; they have passed the Pass; "Let Geba be our bivouac." Terror-struck is Ramah; Gibeah of Saul hath fled. Make shrill thy voice, oh, daughter of Gallim. Listen, Laishah, answer her Anathoth; in mad flight is Madmenah; the dwellers in Gebim gather their stuff to flee. This very day he halteth at Nob; he waveth his hand at the mount of the daughter of Zion, the hill of Jerusalem.*² This is not actual fact—for the Assyrian did not then march upon Zion, and when he came twenty years later it was probably by the Beth-horon route—but this is what might have happened any day after the fall of Samaria. The prophet is describing how easily the Assyrian might advance by this open route upon Zion; and yet, if he did, Jehovah would cut him down in the very sight of his goal.³ All the places mentioned are not known; and of those that are, some are off the high-road. How Nebuchadnezzar came up against Jerusalem is not stated;⁴ but we can follow the course of subsequent invasions. In the great Syrian war in 160 B.C. Nicanor and Bacchides both attempted the plateau—the former unsuccessfully by Beth-horon, the latter with success from the north. In 64 Pompey marched from Beth-shean through Samaria, but could not have reached Judæa had the Jews only persevered in their defence of the passes of Mount Ephraim. These being left open, Pompey advanced easily

¹ 2 Kings xiv. 8; xvi. 5.² Isaiah x. 28-32.³ *Ib.*, vers. 32, 33.⁴ 2 Kings xxiv. 10.

by Koreæ upon Bethel, and thence unopposed to the very walls of Zion. In 37 B.C. Herod marched from the north and took Jerusalem.¹ In 68 A.D. Cestius Gallus came up by Beth-horon and Gibeon to invest Jerusalem, but speedily retreated by the same way. In 70 Titus marched his legions to the great siege past Gophna and Bethel. It seems to have been by Pompey's route that the forces of Islam came upon Jerusalem; they met with no resistance either in Ephraim or Judah, and the city was delivered into their hands by agreement, 637 A.D.

In 1099 the first Crusaders advanced to their successful siege by Ajalon; in 1187 Saladin, having conquered the rest of the land, drew into his power Hebron, Ascalon and the north.

This paper has been occupied with the borders of Judæa. I must leave to the opening of the next the general conclusions to be drawn from them with regard to the isolation and security of the province; and then, after describing the rocky plateau itself, I shall state the three features of its geography that are most evident in its famous history, viz., its pastoral character; its unsuitableness for the growth of a great city; and its neighbourhood to the desert.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

THE CANON OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.²

STUDENTS will find this an extremely useful book. There is not a subject connected with the text of the Old Testament, its history and condition, on which it does not afford all needful information. It is written with great clearness and commendable brevity, and is by far the best manual that exists on the subjects of which it treats.

¹ Josephus, *I. Wars*, xvii.

² *Canon and Text of the Old Testament*, by Dr. Frantz Buhl, translated by Rev. John Macpherson. Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1892.

The work consists of two parts, devoted to the Canon and the Text respectively. The second part, on the Text, is naturally much the longer, treating of the printed editions and MSS., the Massorah, the translations, the various kinds of script employed at different times, the vocalization, and other things. Hitherto the student's best guide on such questions was Wellhausen's edition of Bleek's Introduction, and various articles in Herzog; but the present work gathers all the best in these scattered essays together, and supports the conclusions drawn with a wealth of references to literature which leaves nothing more to be desired.

The first division on the Canon is perhaps of greatest interest, partly owing to the obscurity which hangs over the question of the Canon, and partly because of the greater importance of that question in reference to more general interests. The subject is treated in three sections: the Canon of the Palestinian Jews, that of the Alexandrian Jews, and the Canon in the Christian Church. The first question is the most important; the other two, owing to the great influence of the Septuagint in the early Church, are closely connected together, for, though Jerome was inclined to adopt the Palestinian Canon and recommend it to the Church, prevailing custom was too powerful to be overcome, and teachers of great influence differed from him. It has only been in some churches of the Reformation that his view has come to prevail.

Buhl considers the reading of the Law book by Ezra and the acceptance of it by the people to have been the first step in canonizing the Old Testament (B.C. 444). Without any reference to the somewhat similar procedure in the case of Deuteronomy in the time of Josiah, he calls this the canonization of the Law. It is, of course, doubtful how much of the present Pentateuch Ezra read, and there may be elements in it later than his time; but the author speaks generally, leaving these special questions to be settled by Introduction.

He is inclined to allow some value to the tradition (2 Macc. ii. 13) that Nehemiah "founded a library," and thinks that this may have been a preliminary step to the canonizing of the other two divisions, the Prophets and Writings. On the evidence of Ecclus. ch. xlix., he regards the canonizing of the prophets to have been not later than B.C. 200; he would put it considerably earlier, though the way in which the Chronicler refers to uncanonical books makes him hesitate to place it so early as this writer

(c. 300). It is not quite certain what precise idea was attached to canonicity among the Palestinians. Practically it differed little from suitability to be read in the synagogue, though the two things were not always the same, as certain minor reasons might weigh against public reading of books, or parts of books, though these might still be retained in the sacred collection. It is not difficult to conjecture the reasons which led to the reading of the Prophets. Apart from the feeling that prophecy had ceased, the prophetic books had been greatly read even when the Prophets still existed, for Ezekiel and Zechariah both refer formally to their predecessors, and the religious instincts of the pious in the congregation would turn to them in preference to the Law; and possibly the official doctors only set their seal to the practice that had gradually been adopted. It is certain that the doctors raised questions about the books which did not trouble the minds of the congregation, and had only theoretical interest. The book of Ezekiel, for example, created difficulties to the learned, because the prophet's ritual was not in harmony with the Law. The anxiety shown to reconcile the differences is proof of the firmness of the position of Ezekiel in the sacred collection; a certain Hananiah, a contemporary of Hillel and the elder Gamaliel, the master of St. Paul, had 300 measures of oil brought him, and he sat in his upper room and reconciled the differences. It is not said that Hillel himself took any part in the operation, or thought it of much consequence (p. 24, l. 10 of the transl. should read: However, Hananiah, a contemporary of Hillel and of the elder Gamaliel, succeeded, etc.)

Information in regard to the canonization of the third division, the Writings, is much less precise. "David" is already mentioned in connection with the "library" of Nehemiah. Sirach (c. 190) refers to Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, and the Psalms, and his translator (c. 130) speaks of the Law, Prophets, and other Writings. In 1 Macc. (c. 100) Psalm lxxix., and in a writer somewhat later, Ecclesiastes are quoted as "scripture." In the New Testament most of the books are quoted also as "scripture"; and before 100 A.D. two Jewish writers testify to the completed Canon, the Apocalypse of Ezra and Josephus against Apion. The view of both these writers is peculiar, but the point in regard to both is that they regard the limits of the sacred collection as having been fixed centuries before their time. The conclusion to which

Buhl comes is "that the third part of the Old Testament writings . . . had its Canon finally closed before the time of Christ . . . that the Canon and the clear idea of the Canon was there, and formed the basis of a definite theory of the sacred writings." The author speaks cautiously; but so advanced a scholar as Cornill does not hesitate to fix 100 B.C. as the time by which the Canon must have been closed (*Introd.*, p. 280). Objections continued to be urged in some quarters against certain books, but such objections are no evidence that the books objected to had not yet found a place in the collection, any more than objections existing still among ourselves prove such a thing; at the most they raised the question whether the books had been rightly included in the Canon. In point of fact, objections continued to be urged against some books long after the Synod of Jamnia (90 A.D.) had authoritatively declared them canonical. These final discussions at Jamnia were not an isolated thing; they were part of the general effort of the Jewish mind after the fall of Jerusalem to clearly define its position, both in regard to its own internal life and in opposition to Christian thought without; and the fixing of the text, belonging to the same period, was part of the same effort.

There is one thing in which every one will agree with Buhl, viz., the regret he expresses that our Bibles have not followed the Jewish Canon in the arrangement of the different books. Such an arrangement would have shown the reader that the Canon was not completed at once, but arose by a historical process, and would have suggested that such a book as Daniel, which is not placed among the prophets, belongs, at least in its present form, to a time posterior to the closing of the prophetic Canon.

The translation is bright and readable, though occasionally a little wanting in precision; p. 30, l. 33, "inconsistency . . . other passages," would better be: "difference in kind . . . the other," etc. A disturbing press error occurs p. 36, l. 23, where for "there are teachers," read, *than our* teachers. P. 80, l. 24 is hardly intelligible; read, "that no real variation, though corrected away at a later time according to the original text, may be lost," etc. On p. 91, l. 27, read, "this list must be corrected."

A. B. DAVIDSON.

15

KLOSTERMANN ON THE PENTATEUCH.

IN the autumn of 1890, Professor Aug. Klostermann, of Kiel, published in the *Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift*,¹ two articles entitled *Beiträge zur Entstehungsgeschichte des Pentateuches*. The occasion of these articles appears to have been the appearance, in 1888, of Kautzsch and Socin's convenient edition of the text of Genesis (in German), with the different sources of which, according to the best modern writers, it is composed distinguished typographically; for, after stating at some length, though not always very distinctly, his own theory of the origin of the Pentateuch, he closes with a criticism of the work of these scholars, whom he censures for performing their task in disregard of certain principles which, he asserts, they ought to have uniformly kept before them. From references which have been made in this country to these articles—most recently by a writer in the *Church Quarterly Review*,² it would seem that their import has been somewhat misapprehended; and hence it has occurred to me that it might be worth while to explain to readers of the EXPOSITOR what Klostermann's position is, and how he conceives the Pentateuch to have arrived at its present form.

Klostermann begins³ by objecting to the functions assigned by modern critics to the "Redactor": he is a personage, he says, who is "everywhere and nowhere," who eludes our grasp, for he possesses no definite character or method by which he may be recognised. Critics have too often begun their investigations with Genesis; the

¹ Nos. 9, 10.

² Jan., 1892, pp. 355, 366, 367.

³ P. 622 f.

"fixed point" with which they ought rather to have started is Deuteronomy. Here there is a Redactor whose individuality is perfectly distinct.¹ The Deuteronomic editor, who incorporated in the Pentateuch the Deuteronomic law-book, discovered under Josiah (*i.e.* Deut. v.-xxvi., xxviii.), together with the section of "JE" containing the Song of Moses (Deut. xxxi. 16-22; xxxii. 1-43, 44), and who prefixed to that law-book Deuteronomy i.-iv. for the purpose of connecting it with Numbers, and added at the end the hortatory and other matter contained in Deuteronomy xxix., xxx., xxxi. 1-15, 23-30 and xxxii. 45-47,² is a "living person," whose style and aims can be readily ascertained. Twenty years ago,³ Klostermann laid down, once for all,⁴ the canons for distinguishing what belongs to Deuteronomy proper (Deut. v.-xxvi.), and what is due to this Deuteronomizing editor (Deut. i.-iv., xxix., etc.): Hollenberg, in 1874, applied these canons with much success to the analysis of the Book of Joshua,⁵ and nothing which has materially advanced our knowledge of the literary history of Deuteronomy has since been written.⁶

According to the view of the older critics, the Elohist document (P), because Genesis happens to begin with an extract from it (Gen. i. 1-ii. 4), was reputed the earliest of the Pentateuchal sources: it is one of "the most brilliant proofs" of Wellhausen's insight and sagacity, that he perceived that the narrative of P, as it is disengaged by

¹ P. 625.

² These particulars are not stated in Klostermann's present article, but they are contained in the article in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1871, p. 249 ff., to which he refers.

³ In the article just referred to.

⁴ "Endgültig festgestellt."

⁵ *Studien und Kritiken*, 1874, p. 462 ff. Hollenberg, adopting the distinction laid down by Klostermann, argues here that the Deuteronomic passages of Joshua (D² in my *Introduction*) are the work of the same hand which added to the original Deuteronomy the passages mentioned in the text. Hollenberg's conclusion is endorsed by Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, p. 131 ff.

⁶ P. 626.

criticism, never existed as an original independent source, but could only be accounted for by the supposition that it was written with direct reference to "JE," and consequently that it is later than JE.¹ Klostermann, however, made this discovery twenty-five years ago, before even Graf saw the truth clearly, and before Wellhausen had written a word; and he has watched with interest the course of Pentateuch analysis since; for instead of having to unlearn anything, he has seen it confirm more and more strongly the conclusion which he had himself then reached independently.² He only regrets that Wellhausen has not gone further, and seen with him that the author of P, whose literary characteristics are so clearly defined, and whose narrative is written with constant reference to JE, and as it were "encloses it," is the true long-sought "Redactor": J and E, as Wellhausen has very acutely seen, are throughout two *parallel* narratives, which for this very reason could be readily united into one. P pre-supposes JE, and is based upon it, being simply compiled as a kind of margin, or framework, in which to place JE.³ Imagine that there existed two Greek texts of the Book of Judges—as in fact there actually exist, in the ordinary LXX. and in Lucian's recension⁴—each similar, but at the same time each marked by certain peculiarities of diction, and imagine further that all copies of the book were lost except two, which

¹ P. 627.

² P. 731. Klostermann, however, while thus accepting Wellhausen's view of the *relative* dates of JE and P, expressly remarks that he does not agree with him in the *absolute* dates which he assigns to them.

³ P. 627.

⁴ But Klostermann's theory, which he here refers to, that the LXX. version of Ecclesiastes is derived from Aquila, has been shown recently to be untenable. Dillmann, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Kön.-Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1892, p. 3 ff., proves from a minute and exhaustive study of its peculiarities, that it is really an older version, which has merely been revised on the basis of Aquila's translation. (An interesting parallel, to which Dillmann refers, is Holmes' MS. 62 of the Prophets, belonging to the library of New College, Oxford: see Cornhill's *Ezekiel*, pp. 104-8).

were partly fragmentary, and partly exhibited a mixed text, and that an editorial committee undertook to construct out of these a single consecutive text of the entire book, the method followed by them would surely be to supply any failure and obscurity of the one from the other, in particular passages to let that one speak which was most complete, or most legible or intelligible, and where the choice was difficult, to set side by side the expressions of both. What philologist, when he came to study the result of their labours, would infer, from the existence of the mixed text which it would present, that it was the work of two *separate* historians? What he would infer would be merely the existence of two *recensions* of one and the same text.¹

What has just been assumed, now, as a hypothetical case has actually taken place in our Hebrew Bible. None of the writings contained in the Hebrew Bible have come to us in the form in which they left their authors' hands; they have reached us with all the alterations which the Jewish community and its teachers, by long use, introduced into them for the practical purpose of edifying the hearer.² "The Hebrew text is no railroad, along which one only has to move in order to be landed safely, without exertion, in the period when the Biblical writings were in process of formation. It is rather a pass, which prescribes to the pedestrian the places to be passed on the way, but affords him no guarantee that he will arrive at his goal—at the point, viz. whence slowly wandering, with change of colour and of original garb, the sacred writings have finally come to our hands." And this is especially true of the Law.³

The Pentateuch arose thus.⁴ Passages such as Exodus

¹ P. 628. Though Klostermann does not say it in so many words, the inference which he appears to suggest by this comparison, and which is drawn also by the reviewer in the *Church Quarterly* (p. 355, note, at the end), is that J and E are not (as Wellhausen and most other critics have supposed) two *independent* narratives, but two *recensions* of one and the same narrative.

² P. 628.

³ P. 632.

⁴ P. 701-3.

xxiv. 7, Deuteronomy xxxi. 9 ff., show that at the time when they were written public readings of the Law were an old-established institution. These readings, however, would not be confined to the "Law," in the narrower sense of the term; they would include historical matter as well. Explanatory narratives, for instance, would be needed, for the purpose of giving some information respecting the occasions on account of which particular ceremonies were to be observed, and of bringing the worshippers into a right frame of mind for taking part in them worthily; and the histories of the patriarchs would be recounted for the sake of the moral and religious lessons which they contained. The narratives compiled for such purposes were recited principally at the great festivals,¹ which for a while, however, had a local or "communal" character;² and hence the narrative also would assume naturally a variety of types in different localities. As soon, however, as the sanctuary at Jerusalem began more and more to command the veneration of Israelites, and worship became centralized, the priests there perceived the importance of offering to the pilgrims frequenting it all that they possessed before at their local sanctuaries; accordingly they turned their attention to collecting and harmonizing these various types of narrative, and combining them with the "Law," strictly so called. And so the first draft ("Urbild") of our Pentateuch took shape.³ It consisted of the local traditions combined with the accompanying laws into a continuous narrative,⁴ the whole being sur-

¹ Klostermann understands the מִקְרָא קֹדֶשׁ of Lev. xxiii. 3, etc., in the sense, not of a "holy convocation," but of a "sacred reading."

² And so Klostermann (p. 703) renders Hos. xii. 4b [Heb. 5b]: "He (the angel) let him reach [בֵּיתֵינוּ] Bethel; and there he speaks with us, saying (v. 6 [Heb. 7]), Keep mercy and judgment, and wait continually on thy God" — the history of Jacob was read to the pilgrims visiting the holy place at Bethel in such a manner that it seemed as if the dead patriarch himself preached to them the principles which his life illustrated.

³ P. 704.

⁴ *i.e.* (presumably) JE.

rounded by a learned priestly margin,¹ which provided the reader or preacher with such fuller explanations as were necessary. Klostermann is conscious here of the objection that this hypothesis seems to expose the truth of the Divine word to arbitrary human alteration: but he meets it by remarking that it is not the bare word as such which is spiritually operative, but the word as *assimilated by the believing community*; and hence the community, once brought effectively under its influence, may "re-act" upon the documents which declare it, and modify them for purposes of edification.

But between this draft of the Pentateuch and Ezra, "much water has run down the hill."² The original standard codex thus fixed by the priests might be superseded by new standard editions; by the side of it there were, moreover, the manuscripts of the schools and of rich private persons, which were naturally still more exposed to annotations, insertions of parallel passages, alterations of style, and other accidents: the original standard copy (or copies) perished with the other archives of the Temple when Jerusalem was destroyed by the Chaldeans. Between this catastrophe and Ezra, through the lack of organization of the people and the absence of any standard text, the copies saved by single communities or families must by use have undergone at least as much change as Luther's Bible has done. The work of Ezra must have been to seek among the schools of the priests, Levites, and other Temple ministers, for such copies or fragments of the Pentateuch as seemed most trustworthy, and to combine these into a whole with all the care that he could command, making his selection, where they differed, according to the best of his judgment.³

The radical fault which Klostermann finds with all critics of the present generation is accordingly this: they take as

¹ i.e. P.² P. 704.³ P. 705.

the basis of their investigations *the existing Massoretic text*; they assume practically *the identity of that with the original form of the Pentateuch*.¹ Hence their analysis, particularly in the case of "JE," is liable to be inconclusive, being founded upon distinctions which had no place in the original text. Modern critics ignore the long period, with the many textual modifications which it brought with it, between the original writers and Ezra; they forget that Ezra—or whoever else collected the sacred writings together in the manner just indicated—"had no *autographs* at his disposal; he had only what had been transferred from those autographs in the form of notes, reduced and altered, into the books of religious instruction belonging to different circles, and accordingly modified in different directions: his text consequently must have been a harmony of different forms of text synoptically combined."²

Klostermann next gives illustrations of the changes which the text of Genesis may have undergone, and which he thinks are not duly allowed for by modern critics. One Divine name, for instance, may have been substituted for another; the old historical style, especially in dialogue, often simply wrote the verb or pronoun (*e.g.* "and *he* said," "and he said to *him*)," which, being ambiguous, was filled in by a later scribe, sometimes incorrectly;³ the variation in the names of the patriarch, Jacob and Israel, in the latter part of Genesis (which have been pointed out as characteristic of E and J respectively) is due to the same cause; the original author would have used uniformly the name "Israel" after the change of name by God, but there were places in which this was awkward, and so "Jacob" was substituted: old expressions, again, were translated into

¹ Pp. 710, 711, 731.

² P. 711.

³ The addition of the "explicit" subject, or object, sometimes in the LXX., sometimes in the Hebrew text, is a point which was much insisted on, and convincingly illustrated, by Wellhausen in his *Text der Bücher Samuelis* (1871).

modern phraseology, the explanation sometimes being introduced into the text beside them: glosses, corrections, various readings, etc., noted originally on the margin, often afterwards found their way into the text. It is, of course, no doubt true that the Hebrew text has sometimes suffered corruption from the causes here indicated; but it is to be observed that of the examples adduced by Klostermann, very few indeed are cogent,¹ and the majority rest upon nothing but conjecture. Two of his examples will be found below, pp. 332, 333.

Such is Klostermann's view of the origin of the Pentateuch, stated, as far as possible, in his own words. It is not my intention to criticise it: the grounds upon which it rests, and other details respecting it, are not developed with sufficient fulness for a criticism to be satisfactory. Like most of Klostermann's work, if apt to be arbitrary, it is also original and suggestive; and though constructed largely upon a purely speculative basis, it may not impossibly contain elements of truth. But the question that I desire to ask is this: What advantage, from a conservative point of view, does Klostermann's theory possess above that of Wellhausen, or (to make the issue more definite) above that which I have myself adopted? It is probable that Klostermann recognises in the law a larger Mosaic element than Wellhausen does; whether he recognises a larger element than I do, I am unable to say, for he has not (so far as I am aware) expressed himself explicitly on the subject. But Klostermann is a critic, and adopts critical methods, just as much as Wellhausen does: he recognises the same

¹ We cannot, for instance, feel any assurance in xv. 6, because the Hebrew has "in Jehovah" and the LXX. "in God," that the original text had simply "in him": the LXX. may have rendered inexactly. xxvii. 28 ויתן לך האלהים may have read originally ויהו יתן לך being afterwards swallowed up in the preceding יהוה, and האלהים being then added as a subject to יתן; but there is no proof, or even need, of such an assumption. (As inscriptions show, the oldest orthography of יהוה would have been יהו, not יה.)

phenomena as other critics do, though he explains some of them differently. Thus he does not doubt that "P" is both distinct from "JE," and added to it afterwards:¹ he does not deny that "JE" is composite, though he denies that the elements of which it consists are any longer distinguishable:² he even recognises strata in J and E,³ though he holds them to have been introduced into the text at a stage other than that which Wellhausen supposes: in Deuteronomy, he recognises in the discourses two distinct hands, and was also one of the first to perceive, what has since been generally accepted by critics, that the Song in chap. xxxii. came originally into the book as part of a section of JE. Again Klostermann, it is true, is dissatisfied with Wellhausen's "redactor"; but he has a couple of redactors

¹ The reviewer in the *Church Quarterly* writes: "Klostermann objects that Kautzsch and Socin distinguish" typographically, in their edition of Genesis, "P, JE, J¹, J², and R, as though the whole thing were plain as noonday" (p. 355), and "Klostermann has a right to dispute that the origin of the sections ascribed to P is certain" (p. 367). These statements are incorrect. The reviewer has written hastily, and not observed that *the delimitation of P is not included in Klostermann's criticism*. He thoroughly accepts P as the work of a distinct hand. His criticism of Kautzsch and Socin's analysis is confined to the manner in which they have dealt with JE and the "Redactor." (A subordinate point is his objection that by their method of translation these scholars have sometimes introduced distinctions not existing in the original Hebrew, and obliterated distinctions which are there. There is force in this criticism; but as it concerns only the *translation*, it is irrelevant to the present issue.)

² Klostermann does not enter into details: hence it is not clear whether he holds them to be uniformly and throughout inseparable. But unless they could in some degree, and in particular cases, be distinguished, it is not apparent what ground would exist for holding "JE," as Klostermann does hold it, to be composite. In so far as Klostermann merely insists that beyond a certain point the analysis of JE becomes doubtful, he confirms the opinion which I had expressed myself in my *Introduction* some months before his articles appeared (p. 12 note, with reference to Kautzsch and Socin themselves, p. 18 note, pp. 35, 36, and elsewhere). Wellhausen, also, in particular cases, frequently speaks similarly. The merit of Kautzsch and Socin's volume is that, without claiming finality for this part of their work, they present lucidly a definite view of the structure of JE, suitable to form a practical basis for further study.

³ He speaks of J¹, J², E¹, E², etc., as "unleugbare Färbungen," which Wellhausen's delicate literary feeling ("der feinfühlige Wellhausen") has discriminated (p. 623).

himself, who perform precisely similar offices ; and what is more, he postulates besides a multitude of scribes, whose name is Legion, and who were engaged during many centuries in modifying, partly for purposes of edification, partly for the sake of securing literary intelligibility and consistency, the original text of the Law. In what respect are Klostermann's scribes—whose functions (their existence once granted) are of a character that cannot be arbitrarily limited—less objectionable than Wellhausen's redactors, who at least are very much less numerous, and whose work is definite, and assigned to them on definable grounds? What advantage, from a historical point of view, does the theory that J and E are two *recensions* of one and the same text, which by gradual change have come to differ from one another as they now do, possess above the theory that they are two *narratives* written independently? If the former theory be the true one, by what criterion can we determine which of the two recensions represents the narrative in its primitive form, or what guarantee do we possess that this is done by either? To myself, I must own, it seems incredible that the phenomena displayed by J and E can be attributed to the causes which Klostermann indicates; but to examine the theory upon its merits is not my present purpose. The writer of the article in the *Church Quarterly Review* appears to be under the impression¹ that Klostermann's articles have "not a little 'fluttered the Volscians in Corioli'" (*i.e.* the critics); but the "fluttering" ought rather, it would seem, to be in the camp to which the Reviewer belongs himself; for if Klostermann's utterances possess the authority and decisiveness which he seems plainly disposed to attach to them, the traditional position cannot any longer be consistently maintained.

So much for Klostermann's theory of the origin of the Pentateuch, as he himself holds it. I now proceed to offer

¹ P. 366, note.

the reader some illustrations of his methods of textual criticism. In my *Notes on the Hebrew Text of Samuel*¹ (as afterwards in my *Introduction*),² I had ventured to caution the student that Klostermann was often to be distrusted as a textual critic; and Prof. Cheyne, in a note in the *EXPOSITOR*,³ referred to what I had there said in support of his very moderately expressed judgment on the same subject. For this reference to myself he is somewhat severely taken to task by the Reviewer in the *Church Quarterly*,⁴ who, "with all respect," claims the right to question my "infallibility" on this point, and adds that "it appears quite within the range of possibility that Klostermann may be right in thinking" my "textual criticism a little at fault." What Klostermann's opinion on this subject is, I cannot certainly say: in all probability, if he has seen what I have written relating to it, while taking a different view of particular passages, on the whole he would agree with me so far as I go,⁵ but would consider that I was not nearly radical enough in assuming that the Hebrew text needed correction. But, without laying any claim to "infallibility"—which, it is needless to remark, Prof. Cheyne had no intention of imputing to me—I anticipate no difficulty in showing that, if the Reviewer seriously holds that Klostermann's methods are sound, he must be a textual critic *sui generis*, at least in this country. For Klostermann's textual criticism, where he follows lines of his own, is remarkable for its arbitrariness and extravagance. Not only is he apt to assume corruption of the Hebrew text upon very insufficient grounds, but he often proposes corrections both violent in themselves, and also, as Hebrew, forced and unidiomatic. That he is independent and original, no one

¹ P. v.² Pp. 162, 175.³ Aug., 1891, p. 157.⁴ P. 367, note.⁵ I infer this from the fact that he accepts a large number of the restorations of Thenius and Wellhausen (based upon the Versions), which I accept likewise.

will deny; that among the immense number of emendations which he has proposed some are clever and probable, there is also no reason to dispute: but that he follows false clues, has an imperfect feeling for Hebrew modes of expression, and extends to unreasonable limits the licence of purely conjectural emendation—of emendation, that is, unsupported by the testimony of any ancient version, is abundantly clear from the examples which his writings supply.

Let me justify what I have said by placing some concrete illustrations before the reader. The first two shall be taken from the articles which have been already referred to.

In Genesis xv. 2, 3, Klostermann severely censures the critics for finding in the name Eliezer a criterion of E. He does not, it is true, appear to apprehend correctly the ground on which they do this; but, whether the ground be sufficient or not, under Klostermann's treatment the name disappears from the text altogether, with the whole of v. 3 at the same time.¹ The words in v. 2, which now read "The steward of my house is (R.V.) Dammeseke Eliezer," or (Dillmann) ". . . is Damascus (the city) of Eliezer," read originally, according to Klostermann, "The steward of my house has furnished me with help" (דָּמֶשֶׁק אֵלֵי עֵזֶר);² the first part of v. 3 is a gloss on "childless" in v. 2, and the second part a gloss on the words that have been just translated, after they had become corrupted to their present form. דָּמֶשֶׁק is a word with which the Hebrew student will be unfamiliar; it is the Arabic *damshaqa*, with the meaning *deproperavit, cito expedit*. "Dammeseke" in this verse is a well-known difficulty, and many suggestions have been made about it; but I feel I may predict with confidence that no Hebrew

¹ Pp. 719, 729.

² 'Hat mir (יָצָא) mit hingebendem Eifer die von Eigenen Kindern zu erwartende Hilfe (עֵזֶר) geleistet.'

scholar qualified to form an independent judgment will endorse Klostermann's "restoration": quadrilateral verbs are exceedingly rare in Hebrew, and the importation into Hebrew of such a word from the Arabic is alone sufficient to condemn it.

Genesis xxi. 7. We read in the existing Hebrew text: "And she said, Who would have said to Abraham, Sarah shall give suck to children?" These words are apparently clear and simple enough; the perfect tense מלל is a little unusual, but there are analogies which seem to support it;¹ and any one who still entertains grammatical scruples could easily remove them by supposing that ו had fallen out after מי, and reading for מלל, מי ימלל, מי. In Klostermann's hands,² however, the verse reads: "(v. 6, Every one that heareth will laugh at me,) Saying, Who is managing for Abraham the business of begetting? who has cleared the honour of Sarah's womb?"³ Is it possible that the author of this remarkable emendation can be gifted with the "keen sense of humour" which the Reviewer discovers in his writings?³

The following examples are taken from Klostermann's elaborate, and in many respects meritorious, commentary on the books of Samuel and Kings, in Strack and Zöckler's *Kurzfasseter Kommentar* (1887).

1 Samuel i. 9. "And Hannah arose, after (their) eating in Shiloh." For these words Klostermann reads—with-

¹ See my *Hebrew Tenses*, § 19, 2.

² P. 720.

³ Lest I should be thought to have misrepresented Klostermann, I append the German, "Wer besorgt für den Abraham das Geschäft der Zeugung (פלד [sic] for מלל), wer hat den Mutterschoß der Sara wieder zu Ehren gebracht" מן נקה במן for מי ניקה בנים or בן, LXX.)? (פלד is of course a misprint presumably for מלד). ותאמר, "and she said," at the beginning of the verse is supposed to have been substituted for לאמר, "saying," after the following words had reached their present corrupt state.

out any authority in antiquity whatever—"And she arose, and left her food behind her in the dining-parlour."

1 Samuel i. 15. Here Hannah says to Eli, "Nay, my lord, I am a woman קִשְׁתִּי רֵיחַ; I have drunk neither wine nor strong drink, but I poured out my soul before the LORD." The expression קִשְׁתִּי רֵיחַ presents a difficulty: it would mean by analogy "of a hardened spirit"; but as this is unsuited to the context, most modern commentators, following the guidance of the LXX., which has ἡ σκληρὰ ἡμέρα, read יוֹם קִשְׁתִּי, *lit.*, hard of day, *i.e.* unfortunate—an expression which occurs (in the masc.) in Job xxx. 26. This however does not satisfy Klostermann; he proposes אִשָּׁה קִשְׁתִּי דָּוָה אֲנִי—a phrase, the meaning of which I will leave the Hebrew student to divine for himself. When he has discovered it, I venture to think he will agree with me that it is not only grammatically very strained, but also singularly tasteless and out of place.

1 Samuel xi. 12. "And the people said unto Samuel, Who is he that said, Shall Saul reign over us?" Klostermann: "And the people said unto Samuel, Who is he that said, Let the devil rather reign over us!" "Devil," it is fair to say, is only Klostermann's accommodation to modern notions of "Sheol" (=Hades), which is obtained from שָׁאוּל "Saul," by a simple change of punctuation. But though the personification of Sheol might be suitable in a highly poetical context (Isa. xiv. 9), it is wholly inappropriate in a popular exclamation. And it seems, moreover, that even this is not, in Klostermann's view, the original form of the verse: from the note it appears that he holds this to have been, "And the people said unto *Saul*, Do not rule (אַל תַּמְלִךְ) for שָׁאוּל (יַמְלִךְ) over us."

1 Samuel xiv. 25. Here the LXX. have καὶ πάντα ἡ γῆ ἡρίστα καὶ Ἰααλ δρυμὸς ἣν μελισσῶνος κατὰ πρόσωπον τοῦ ἀγροῦ. It may readily be granted that Ἰααλ δρυμὸς are a

couple of doublets to *μελισσῶνος*, or various representations of the ambiguous word יַעַר,¹ and may, therefore, in a restoration of the Hebrew text on which the Greek version is based, be disregarded. Klostermann however goes further, and emending ἡρίστα, somewhat violently, into ἐργύται or ἐργασία, reads וְכָל הָאָרֶץ יַעַר דְּבַשׁ עַל פְּנֵי הַשָּׂדֶה, a lame and questionable sentence, which however is rendered, "And all the country were makers of honey upon the open field" (*i.e.* were devoted to bee-culture).²

xiv. 32. Heb. text: "And he said, Ye have dealt treacherously: roll a great stone unto me this day" (*viz.* for the altar, *vv.* 34-5). Klost.: "And he said, Roll their transgression upon me. Here will I prepare (a table) for God."³

xv. 29: "And also the glory of Israel will not lie nor repent." Klost.: "And even though we both plead against Him, God is upright; ⁴ He will not lie nor repent." נִצַּח, rendered on the margin of the Revised Version, *victory* or *glory*, is a somewhat peculiar word; but it seems, to judge from the usage of the corresponding root in Aramaic,⁵ to denote Jehovah as the *splendour* or *majesty* of Israel. At any rate, even if this word be corrupt, Klostermann's emendation is far too forced and prosaic to be probable.

¹ Which means both "forest" and "flowing honey" (Cant. v. 1).

² "Und betrieb die ganze Gegend Bienenwirthschaft auf dem Blachfeld." There is another example of an emendation founded upon an arbitrary alteration of the Greek text in v. 24. The restoration in i. 15 (above, p. 334) is obtained similarly. γυνή ἡ σκληρὰ ἡμέρα, or, as the clause reads in Lucian's recension, γυνή ἐν σκληρῇ ἡμέρᾳ, is assumed to be a corruption of γυνή ἐν σκληραϊμοῦσσι, a word, which, though formed, as Klostermann observes, on the analogy of σκληροφθαλμία, is not, so far as I am aware, otherwise known.

³ *i.e.* בְּנִדְתָּם נָלוּ אֵלַי הֵלֶם אָבִן לְאַלְהִים.
for בְּנִדְתָּם נָלוּ אֵלַי חַיִּים אָבִן גְּדוּלָּה.

⁴ *i.e.* וְגַם נִבְחַ לֹו שְׁנִינֹו יִשְׂרָאֵל.
for וְגַם נִצַּח יִשְׂרָאֵל.

⁵ To shine, to be bright or famous; and especially to be victorious.

xv. 32: "Surely the bitterness of death is past." Klost.: "If it must be so, then, come on, O death!"¹ The first part of this emendation is supposed to be based upon the LXX., but their $\epsilon\iota\ \sigma\upsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ merely implies the misreading of אָנָּךְ as הִנֵּךְ. הִנֵּךְ however (properly "turn round") is incorrectly rendered "come on" (*komm heran*): it is true, it is used by a king bidding his attendants perform their bloody work (xxii. 18): but there it clearly retains its proper force of *turn round* (viz. to attack another): it could not be used by a person bidding his assailant approach to attack *himself*.

One more example will be sufficient, from the opening words of David's lament over Saul and Jonathan in 2 Samuel i. The Hebrew text there reads: (18) "And he bade [*lit. said*] to teach the children of Judah (the) bow: behold, it is written in the book of Jashar.

(19) The beauty, O Israel, is slain upon thy high places:
How are the mighty fallen!"

In Klostermann's hands this becomes:—" (18) And he said:

Attend, O Judah, to hard things,
(19) And be grieved, O Israel;
Slain ones (lie) upon thy high places,
How are the mighty fallen!"

The supposed present corruption of v. 18 is due to a learned reader, who, comparing the song as it stood in the book of Jashar, added the reference to that book, transcribing at the same time the technical expression "to teach" prefixed to it there (cf. Ps. lx. *title*): he, however, committed, in what follows, the "slight mistake" of taking the first three words of the song (בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה קִשְׁתָּ, "Attend, O Judah, to hard things") as the object of "to teach" (pronouncing them בְּנֵי יְהוּדָה קִשְׁתָּ, i.e. "the children of Judah

¹ i.e. אָנָּךְ מֵרַחֵם לָב מוֹתָם for אָנָּךְ מֵרַחֵם לָב מוֹתָם.

(the bow"). In *v.* 19, הַצִּבִּי (the beauty, or, less probably, the gazelle) is a corruption of הַעֲצִרִי (Gen. xlv. 5), "be grieved." Many Hebrew scholars will admit that the words rendered "bow," and "beauty" (or "gazelle"), especially the former (which is omitted in the LXX.), are a little singular, and may possibly be due to some error; but there is no ground for supposing such a wholesale correction as this to be necessary: the rest of *v.* 18 was read by the LXX. as it is read now, and in *v.* 19 the text used by them had the consonants of הַצִּבִּי¹ as well.

Of course I cannot suppose that the Reviewer would seek to extol Klostermann for his sobriety and sound sense without possessing a competent knowledge of what he had written; and hence I must conclude that emendations such as these have his approval, and that he would wish to see English students adopt the methods of textual criticism which they exemplify. The preceding illustrations will, I trust, satisfy most readers of the EXPOSITOR that I was justified in expressing the caution² which to the Reviewer seemed so superfluous. I dwell reluctantly—for the task, I am sensible, is an ungracious one—upon the defects of an able and conscientious scholar: but the necessity has been forced upon me: it is a duty that is owing to students who might otherwise be misled to point out that, whatever Klostermann's abilities may be, a misdirected ingenuity and unregulated judgment lead him often into false tracks, and make him for the inexperienced an unsafe guide.

I may be allowed to conclude by referring to one or two other points relating to Hebrew scholarship, noticed in the same article. The writer brings against me in one place a somewhat grave charge:—

¹ The translators only vocalized it differently, viz. הַצִּבִּי (στέλλωσαν; see 2 Sam. xviii. 18).

² As I have done elsewhere in similar instances (e.g. *Introduction*, p. 253 note, 254 note, 260, 337, 458).

"We should not be doing justice to our subject if we did not call attention to the remarkable recklessness of statement occasionally found in the higher criticism. Thus when we find Canon Driver, referring to the phrase 'beyond Jordan,' quotes Deut. i. 1, 5, iii. 8, iv. 41, and Josh. ix. 10, as implying that the author was resident in Western Palestine, can he possibly be ignorant of the fact that the same phrase (בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן) is used in Deut. iii. 20, xi. 30 for the *western* side of Jordan, and similarly in Josh. v. 1, ix. 1, xii. 7 (cf. v. 1), xxii. 7, or that in Num. xxxii. 19 a phrase almost precisely similar (מִעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן) is used for *both* sides of Jordan in the same verse? We do not pretend that this fact is decisive either way on the question of authorship, but it at least shows either great carelessness or a rooted determination to look at only one side of a question, when the passages mentioned above are cited as decisive without the slightest hint that there is any difficulty in the matter" (p. 359).

The Reviewer demands of me impossibilities. For a volume in which many different subjects have to be treated, he demands the fulness of a special commentary. In the present instance, however, I happen to possess a complete reply to his objection. I had fully examined the use of the phrase here referred to seven or eight years ago: and the following passage describing it has been in type for nearly four years, although, owing to circumstances beyond my control, it has not yet been published:—

The use of the phrase "beyond Jordan" for E. Palestine in Deut. i. 1, 5, iv. 41, 46, 47, 49 (as elsewhere in the Pentateuch: comp. Num. xxii. 1, xxxiv. 15), exactly as in Josh. ii. 10, vii. 7, ix. 10, etc., Judg. v. 17, x. 8, is said to imply that the author was resident in W. Palestine. It is indeed difficult to resist this inference. On the one hand, Deut. iii. 20, 25, xi. 30, and Josh. v. 1, ix. 1, xii. 7, show that the assumption sometimes made, that עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן had a fixed geographical sense (like *Gallia Transalpina*, etc.), and was used as a standing designation of the Transjordanic territory, irrespectively of the actual position of the speaker or writer, is incorrect; on the other hand, if its meaning was *not* thus fixed, its employment by a writer, whether in E. or W. Palestine, of the side *on which he himself stood*, is difficult to understand, unless the habit had arisen of viewing the regions on the two sides of Jordan as *contrasted with each other*; ¹ and this of itself

¹ Hence its use in Josh. v. 1; ix. 1; xii. 7, written (presumably) in W. Palestine.

implies residence in Palestine. The question thus resolves itself into a prior one: was this a habit of the Canaanites, and did the usage suggested by it pass from them to the Israelites, before the latter had set foot in the land, and experienced the conditions likely to naturalize it amongst them? The *possibility* of this cannot, perhaps, be denied; at the same time it may be doubted whether it is probable. The use of the phrase in the Pentateuch generally, exactly as in Josh. ii. 10, etc., creates a presumption that the passages in question were written under similar local conditions.¹

I venture to think that this passage completely rebuts the charge of "recklessness" which the Reviewer somewhat gratuitously brings against me.² His excuse, no doubt, will be that he was not, and could not be, aware of what I had written. But he might have inferred from the footnote on page 80 that I had discussed the matter more fully elsewhere: and it is perhaps hardly reasonable in a critic to assume that an author possesses no grounds for his conclusions because he does not happen to state them at length.

It is true Numbers xxxii. 19 is not referred to (though it was noticed in the original draft of the extract); for I did not suppose that any Hebrew scholar would quote it as having a bearing on the question. The Transjordanic tribes say there to Moses, "We will not inherit with them (the 9½ tribes) *on the side across Jordan and beyond*, for our inheritance has fallen to us *on the side across Jordan eastwards*." The usage here harmonizes with the statement in the extract that the phrase "across Jordan" had not a fixed geographical sense; but it falls further into the category of passages in which, in accordance with

¹ In Deut. iii. 20, 25, the (assumed) position of the speaker is naturally maintained. In v. 8, on the contrary, in a phrase of common occurrence (iv. 47; Josh. ii. 10, ix. 10), as in Josh. i. 14, 15, the point of view is that of the narrator, not of the speaker.

² If a corroborative opinion be desired, it may be found in an article by the present Bishop of Worcester in the *Contemporary Review*, January, 1888, p. 143 f., who draws from the expression exactly the same inference.

Hebrew idiom, the same expression repeated acquires a contrasted meaning in virtue of the juxtaposition. So 1 Samuel xxiii. 26, we read (literally) "on the side of the mountain off here, and on the side of the mountain off here" = (Anglice) "on *the one* side of the mountain, and on *the other* side of the mountain." 1 Samuel xx. 21, 22, "Behold, the arrows are *from thee and hither* . . . ; behold, the arrows are *from thee and beyond*" = "*this* side of thee" and "*that* side of thee"; and, with the same word as in Numbers, 1 Samuel xiv. 4. (literally) "a rocky crag off the side across, off here; and a rocky crag off the side across, off here," *i.e.*, "a rocky crag on *the one* side, and a rocky crag on *the other* side." From the use of the term in Numbers xxxii. 19, nothing can be inferred as to its force when used *absolutely*, as is the case in Deut. i. 1, 5, etc.

The Reviewer is surprised (p. 363) that I have taken no notice in my *Introduction* of such facts as the traces of ancient case-endings in Genesis, which are supposed to be evidence of the antiquity of the book. I have taken no notice of them because their evidence is too insignificant to possess any weight. Did we indeed find in Genesis—or in the Pentateuch—case-endings habitually employed as such, while in other books they had disappeared from use, their existence would be strong evidence of the antiquity of the books in which they occurred. But we find nothing of the sort. In Genesis there are only five examples of case-endings altogether,¹ three in prose,² and two in poetry;³ and in these the termination is not used with the force of a case, but is simply attached as a binding

¹ I disregard, of course, the ה *locale* (which corresponds to the Arabic accusative); for this is met with constantly, at every period of the language (*e.g.* 2 Chron. xxix. 18, 22, xxxii. 9, xxxiii. 11, 14, xxxvi. 6, 10).

² ש in Genesis i. 24 חִיתוֹ אֶרֶץ, *beast of the earth* (but not in vv. 25, 30, or elsewhere in the Pentateuch with the same word); י in Genesis xxxi. 39, twice.

³ י twice in Genesis xlix. 11.

vowel to a substantive in the construct state,¹ apparently as a poetical or rhetorical ornament, precisely as happens from time to time in other books of the Old Testament. The fact that these terminations are used without any consciousness of their true significance does not support the theory that the books in which they are found belong to a specially early stage in the history of the language, and tends rather to prove, if it proves anything, that they are not earlier than other books in which the usage is similar. Were these terminations really marks of antiquity, it would be natural for them to be both more frequent themselves, and also to be accompanied by other archaic forms, which is just what we do not find. The *i* of Genesis xxxi. 39, xlix. 11, is found twice besides in the Pentateuch—Exodus xv. 6, Deuteronomy xxxiii. 16 (both poetical passages), but it occurs some *twenty-five* times in other books,—for instance, Hosea x. 11, Isaiah i. 21, xxii. 16 (twice); Obadiah 3; Micah vii. 14; six times in Jeremiah, as well as in several later writings. It is difficult, when it is used so often in books of the middle or later age of Hebrew, to argue that its occurrence in Genesis is a mark of antiquity. The *o* of Genesis i. 24 is rarer; this occurs three times in poetry in Numbers xxiii. 18, xxiv. 3, 15 (the prophecies of Balaam); in Psalm cxiv. 8; and, with the same word as in Genesis i. 24 (but followed, except in Psalm lxxix. 2, by different genitives), seven times in passages, none of them early, viz., Zephaniah ii. 14, Isaiah lvi. 9 (twice), Psalms l. 10, lxxix. 2, civ. 11, 20. Those who adduce this example as a mark of antiquity commonly say that it is borrowed in these other passages from Genesis i. 24; but we have no means of knowing this to have been

¹ *i* corresponds to the Arabic genitive; but, to be a true genitive, it should be attached to the word under government, not to the word governing; i.e., it should be *וְיָנִיחַ יוֹמִי* (a type of construction which never occurs in Hebrew), not (as it is) *יוֹמִי וְיָנִיחַ*.

the case other than the assumption that Genesis i. 24 is older than they are : the argument is consequently circular ; and the supposition that an anomalous form remained in use in a particular word,¹ and could thus be used at pleasure by different writers, is equally probable, and would equally account for the phenomenon to be explained. The occurrences of ancient case-endings in the Pentateuch are too isolated, and too closely parallel to their appearance in admittedly later books, for an argument of any value to be founded upon them.

The case is substantially the same with other supposed marks of antiquity which have been pointed to in the Pentateuch. On the verdict of comparative philology, and the testimony of inscriptions, regarding the use of the pronoun **וְהָא** for the feminine, I will not anticipate what I have written in another place.

S. R. DRIVER.

¹ Comp. לַיְלָה, *night*, the accent of which shows that it is an old accusative, which is used almost uniformly, עֲוֹלָתָהּ (or עֲלֵתָהּ), *iniquity*, which occurs five times, חַרְסָהּ, *sun*, which occurs once (Judges xiv. 18). See Kautzsch's 25th edition of Gesenius' *Grammar*, § 90. 2, 3, or my *Hebrew Tenses*, § 182.

ST. PAUL'S ΧΑΡΙΣ.

THERE are many places of the New Testament in which the Revisers have made alterations which to most readers it has seemed hardly worth while to make ; and there are many in which they have refrained from making alterations which critical readers wish they had made. But I do not know of more than one place in which they seem to me to have altered any rendering of the Authorized Version for the worse through misapprehension.

The place to which I refer is Philippians i. 7: " Even as it is right for me to be thus minded in behalf of you all, because I have you in my heart, inasmuch as, both in my bonds and in the defence and confirmation of the gospel, ye all are partakers with me of grace." So the Revisers give the last clause. But the Authorized Version has, " Ye all are partakers of my grace." I shall endeavour to show that the Authorized is right here, and that St. Paul was speaking of a particular grace bestowed on himself.

The Greek is *συγκοινωνούς μου τῆς χάριτος πάντας ὑμᾶς ὄντας*. The article before *χάριτος* is not conclusive, but it agrees better with the Authorized rendering than with the Revised. That St. Paul was accustomed to think of himself as having received a special *χάρις* is to be inferred from several passages of Epistles written at different times. The word *χάρις* he uses abundantly and in most of its senses. Its primary meaning, I suppose, is an act or movement which gives pleasure, something which charms. In its New Testament usage it means, (1) kindness, (2) active kindness, (3) beneficent spiritual influence, (4) a gift or boon ; and also (5) gratitude or response awakened by kindness, and (6) thanks. The word is sown lavishly over a section of 2 Corinthians, chaps. viii. and ix., in which it occurs ten times, in addition to *εὐχαριστίαν* and *εὐχαριστιῶν*. In viii.

9 it means kindness or love; in viii. 1, and ix. 8, 14, it has the familiar sense of the Divine goodness acting with spiritual influence upon human souls. In viii. 4, τὴν χάριν is perhaps equivalent to charity, the sympathetic charity of the benevolent; in 6, 7, and 19, "this" charity is more definitely the collection for the poor at Jerusalem. In viii. 16 and ix. 15, χάρις is thanks, "Thanks be to God." When St. Paul is speaking of his χάρις, he means by the word a gift or privilege conferred by God upon himself.

He dwells upon this most fully in the Epistle to the Ephesians, which was written in the same year and under the same circumstances as the Epistle to the Philippians, so that the one may reasonably be a guide to the thoughts of the other. In the third chapter we read, "For this cause I Paul, the prisoner of Christ Jesus in behalf of you Gentiles,—if so be that ye have heard of the dispensation of that grace of God which was given me to you-ward; how that by revelation was made known unto me the mystery, . . . to wit, that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs and fellow-members of the body, and partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel, whereof I was made a minister, according to the gift of that grace of God which was given me according to the working of His power. Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, was this grace given, to preach unto the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ." Nothing could be more explicit than these last words; but the whole passage sets forth the wonderful privilege, the grace, that had been conferred upon St. Paul, when he was called to be the Apostle of the Gentiles. His particular grace, then, was his apostleship, his commission to proclaim the good news of Christ to the Gentiles.

When, some years earlier, he was writing to the Romans, he was already accustomed to speak of the commission given to him as his grace. There is a not quite definite use of the term in i. 5, "Jesus Christ our Lord, through

whom we received grace and apostleship, unto obedience of faith among all the nations." In xii. 3, "I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think," it is tolerably certain that St. Paul is referring distinctly to the authority with which his commission invested him. This is still plainer in xv. 15, "I write the more boldly unto you in some measure, as putting you again in remembrance, because of the grace that was given me of God, that I should be a minister of Christ Jesus unto the Gentiles." In the Epistle to the Galatians, written at nearly the same time, there are two places in which he connects the word grace with his call and commission; but in i. 15 the grace is the Divine will to give rather than the gift itself,—“When it was the good pleasure of God who . . . called me through His grace, to reveal His Son in me, that I might preach Him among the Gentiles”; in ii. 7-9, it again means distinctly the apostolic commission, “When they saw that I had been entrusted with the gospel of the uncircumcision, even as Peter with the gospel of the circumcision; . . . and when they perceived the grace that was given unto me, James and Cephas and John . . . gave to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, that we should go unto the Gentiles, and they unto the circumcision.”

We see then that it was habitual to St. Paul to describe his apostolic commission as a special privilege and favour for which God's goodness had selected him; in a single word, he called it the χάρις or grace given to him. To the Philippians he feels deeply grateful because they had associated themselves with his apostolic work. This association is what strikes the note of joy throughout the Epistle. It was chiefly by the sending of gifts, first in the beginning of the gospel, and then during the imprisonment at Rome, that the Christians of Philippi had made themselves his partners

in the work of spreading the gospel; their gifts of money had been consecrated to him by their being thus devoted to the cause of the gospel of which he was the commissioned preacher. And he pours forth his gratitude in these cordial words, "I thank my God upon all my remembrance of you, always in every supplication of mine in behalf of you all making my supplication with joy, for your fellowship in furtherance of the gospel from the first day until now; being confident of this very thing, that He which began a good work in you will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ: even as it is right for me to be thus minded on behalf of you all, because I have you in my heart, inasmuch as both in my bonds and in the defence and confirmation of the gospel ye all are partakers of my grace." They had proved their fellowship with St. Paul in the furthering of the gospel; they had made themselves partners of his apostleship—of his special grace—in the imprisonment, and in the defending and establishing of the gospel. If grace in this passage is taken to mean the spiritual influence shed on all believers, the preceding words lose their point. How had the Philippians shown themselves to be partakers of Divine grace in St. Paul's imprisonment? The share in furthering the gospel, the association with the imprisonment and with the active work on behalf of the gospel, involved in the sympathetic assistance they had given him, made the Philippians his partners, not only in the general Divine grace bestowed on all Christians, but in his apostleship. And St. Paul so cherished the office entrusted to him that to claim a partnership in it was the surest way to his heart.

J. LLEWELYN DAVIES.

THE FIRST MIRACLE.

IT is a true saying of Renan that "the essential condition of the creations of art is to form a system, of which all the parts correspond and have mutual relations. In histories of this kind, the grand sign of having found the truth is to have contrived to combine the accounts in a manner which forms a narrative consistent, credible, where nothing jars" (*Vie de J., Introduction* ci.). Few English thinkers, at all events, will now pretend that Renan has himself done this; while, on the other hand, nothing is more impressive than the harmony of tone and temper which pervades the Gospels, taken frankly and as we find them.

The person who speaks in parts which are almost universally accepted, is one who seems to require the miracles in order to become intelligible. The Thaumaturgist acts and speaks, most exactly, as the beautiful Teacher could not have failed to do, on the hypothesis that He possessed miraculous power. Legend and reminiscence have somehow "contrived to combine the accounts" precisely as the French artist requires, although he has not been able himself to meet his own requirement.

Now this is emphatically true of the opening of the ministry of Jesus. In all the Gospels we find Him full of benign and suave attractiveness. The people marvel at His gracious words. He is in the synagogue, or by the sea, or on grassy slopes: He sits down among His followers and utters a seven-fold benediction: He astonishes a Samaritan and a woman by asking a courtesy from her. Explain the miraculous draught, as Keim hints, by suggesting that a shoal of fish was visible from where He stood, or the feeding of the multitudes, like Ewald, by supposing that His influence led the provident to share their supply with the hungry: yet you do not succeed in obliterating

from the record the character of precisely such a person as would naturally perform a work at a marriage feast. The disputed marvel is harmonious with the admitted temperament, which loves in its parables to speak of a great feast, of a marriage supper, of oxen and fatlings, of the fatted calf, of music and dancing.

Renan, however, tells us that Jesus, despite His profound originality, was, at least for some weeks, a copyist of John the Baptist. "The superiority of John was too great for Him, still little known, to dream of disputing it. He was quite content to grow up under his shadow, and felt Himself compelled, if He would gain the crowd, to use the external means which had led him to so amazing a success" (pp. 112, 113).

But the Baptist was an ascetic. His food was coarse. His clothing was rude. He had lived far from society, "in the deserts," until publicity was forced on him by his vocation, and even then he scarcely crossed the stream which bounded the settled land. The people "went out" unto him.

It is not difficult to judge whether the notion that Jesus copied his methods is more artistic in its harmony with the context, than the story of His behaviour at a wedding feast. For Renan exhibits Jesus, immediately before His baptism, endowed with a tenderness of heart which transformed itself into infinite sweetness, vague poesy, universal charm, (whatever these phrases may definitely mean) as exhaling from His person such a fascination that His acquaintances no longer recognised Him, and as ready to bring Paradise to earth, if only His notions had not been chimerical (pp. 76-84). Not long after His baptism, again, Renan dwells upon His profound affection, His loving manners, His abode in the house with Peter and Peter's family,—upon the mode of life which was a perpetual charm, upon a scandal which He caused by accepting a dinner from Levi, and

several times upon His smile and His infinite charm (156, 158, 162, 168, 169).

Violently wedged in between two periods of this character, a time when Jesus condescended to copy a rugged Baptist, whom Renan compares to a Hindoo Zogi beside the Ganges, does not help to make a narrative consistent, credible, where nothing jars.

But when a little that is rather Parisian than Galilean has been allowed to evaporate from these descriptions, they bear a strong witness in favour of our own Jesus, the Jesus who came almost straight from the wilderness of temptation to share a rustic festival, and to repair the bankruptcy of its supplies.

We are intended to observe the period at which this event occurred. It was the beginning of miracles. The days are carefully reckoned since He won His first disciples. Renan's notion of His subjection to the spirit of the Baptist is highly suggestive, and even instructive, for it reminds us that all His first disciples had been under that influence, and the most powerful of them had apparently been among John's stated followers. They came to Jesus from that school, expecting no doubt to find its methods and principles carried to a greater height of perfection. But He at once conveyed them to a wedding. The whole tone of their lives was changed. They must have noticed also that although the week of feasting had begun (for this is the natural and simple meaning of the statement that the mother of Jesus was already there), and although it soon became clear that the supplies were scanty, yet the arrival of Jesus was very welcome to these humble folk who knew Him; "both Jesus was bidden and His disciples to the marriage feast."¹

¹ "The use of the singular (*ἐκλήθη*) implies that they were invited for His sake, not He for theirs."—Farrar, *Life*, chap. xi. At least, it refutes the ancient notion that Nathaniel may have been the paranymp.

The deliberate, particularizing minuteness of all this, regarded as coming from the Apostle John, is a natural consequence of the surprise and interest with which he found himself just then in such a place.

To us, therefore, it suggests the difference between two kinds of piety—the ascetic and the distinctively Christian.

The Baptist represents all who strive to overcome the world by avoiding, not by converting it. He was the greatest outside the kingdom, the ripest fruit of that ancient system which bade Israel dwell alone among the nations. All the ceremonial restrictions which isolated his race, lest they should be infected by the paganism which they were unable to leaven for God, were carried to the uttermost in his hermit-like seclusion. And we must not deny that such piety is often real and earnest. It is better to enter into life maimed than, for lack of renunciation, to be cast into hell fire. But maimness is not the ideal of life, and the lonely Baptist, in his hair-cloth, "neither eating nor drinking," has need to be baptized by the wearer of the seamless robe, who came, as He fearlessly avowed, "both eating and drinking." Thus, from the very first, the disciples of Jesus were encouraged to mingle boldly in the social life of their time. It was natural therefore that St. Paul should instruct his Corinthian converts, when bidden by an unbeliever to a feast, that they were free to go, and only bound to behave as Christians there, walking charitably. The Church cannot be a conservatory of heavy perfumes and stifling sweetness, since the rushing wind of heaven, blowing over great spaces, broad and free, is the chosen type of the spirit of Jesus. We recognise it in this opening narrative. We find it again in the parable of the leaven which is to leaven all the lump, in the rebuke of that slothful servant who hid his talent in a napkin, and in all the reproaches levelled at Him who ate and drank with publicans and sinners.

Scepticism, equally with the Church, recognises the spirit of Jesus in the story, but it misuses the recognition. Keim acknowledges its verisimilitude: "According to the earlier Gospels, Jesus had certainly spoken words appropriate to this narrative. . . . 'Can the children of the bride-chamber fast as long as the bridegroom is with them?' And 'new wine is not put into old wine-skins.' . . . From this, and from the actual joyous and friendly feasts which Jesus held . . . could easily be derived the picture of a wedding festival at which Jesus was the bringer of joy" (iv. 208).

And Schenkel tells us that in its essential features it is certainly not an invention and was probably witnessed by John (p. 84.)

It must be owned, that such controversialists are hard to deal with. If the miracles were stern, and the ordinary life festive, we should be told that they were inconsistent. But when Jesus uses language harmonious with the record of His actions, we are told that the former is the origin of the latter, and not a thought is vouchsafed to the problem suggested by such harmonies, extending over such various manifestations of character.

Much ingenuity has been spent upon the question, What did Mary expect from Jesus when she said, They have no wine? Perhaps she herself could not have answered so definitely as many who have spoken for her. And at least we may be certain that hers was not the admirably Calvinistic notion of Calvin, that attention might be diverted by the preaching of a sermon. What is plain is that she looked to Jesus for relief, either by some happy device or else some manifestation of His hitherto latent power. But which was it? For half a lifetime she had known the resources of an absolutely unclouded judgment, a perfectly developed faculty and an entirely unselfish heart. She had enjoyed the peace and trustfulness inspired by loving contact with an ideal life.

And it was inevitable that in every embarrassment she must have turned to Him. As we consider those sinless obscure years which are the pledge of His sympathy with all our obscure lives, the years which (like those of the best women in the aphorism) "have no history," we are assured of their lovingkindness, their universal sympathy. We know that they were not spent in dreamy reveries; for His teaching, so marvellously practical, His broad and general principles, which always go with such wonderful directness to the details of life, reveal His interests. Renan has ventured to assert that "He lived entirely in the supernatural," and that "it pleased Him to display, in His very infancy, a revolt against paternal authority" (*Vie de J.*, pp. 43, 44). But this is contradicted not only by the explicit assertion that "He was subject unto them," but also by all the events which throw light, directly or indirectly, upon the period of seclusion. Of these, the most obvious is the astonishment of His mother at having to seek for Him, upon whose discretion she had reckoned with such implicit confidence, though he was but a boy of twelve, and who was surprised in turn at her supposing that He could have idly wandered, or lingered anywhere but in His true Father's house. He was a child who might have been tracked by asking where the call of God had led Him. A second hint is the Baptist's avowal of his own profound inferiority, before any supernatural revelation had enforced it. A third indication may be found in the enthusiasm of those who knew His whole life, when all Nazareth bore Him witness, until exasperated by finding that special privileges were refused to them. Such another is surely here, in the instinctive appeal to Him, as to a long-tried helper, even before it was actually fitting that He should interfere. This inference from Mary's appeal is obvious.

But more than this is probable. She knew not only His readiness to help, but also that His hour of manifestation to

the world was at last come. Is it to be supposed that He had returned from the forty days of seclusion, and from the public witness of the Baptist, with a new unction on His brows, and five disciples following His steps, without awakening great hopes, most of all in the bosom of her who had so long guarded the mighty secret, keeping it and pondering it in her heart? It was impossible that Mary should not expect, now, at last, a renewal of the wonders of His infancy.

And the noblest and most unselfish woman could not fail to wish to direct their operation, so as to remove, unnoticed, the distress of her own friends.

But this was the very temptation which first of all assailed Jesus in the desert, namely, the use of His special gifts for merely private ends. Not to lift Himself above hunger, nor His own circle above inconvenience and discomfort, but to witness for God and the mission of His Christ to human souls, Jesus "came forth." Therefore His opportunity did not exactly coincide with the first apprehensions of dearth; His "hour" was not yet. And a certain sharpness of decision is always audible in His words, as often as what is private and individual seeks thus to modify His public action. In the remonstrance of Peter He heard the voice of Satan. When His mother and brethren would interrupt His teaching, He declared that the claim of His disciples lay as close to His heart; *they* were His nearest and dearest. It is now that the sword began to pierce Mary's gentle breast, since now first it became necessary to subordinate His natural affection to His vocation, a process which should increase in stringency, until, expiring upon the cross, He said to her who had dreamed such happy dreams, "Woman, behold thy Son!"

The epithet, Woman, used at the last as well as now, has no stain of the disrespect and harshness which it would imply from one of us to his mother.

It was thus that Jesus addressed Mary Magdalene, weeping beside His tomb. Thus, in the classics, persons of the highest rank are accosted. But, though disrespect is absent, a certain aloofness is undeniable; it is assuredly a different word from Mother, and it proves that the earthly tie should not control His official action, even on earth, although Mariolatry declares it to be predominant, even in heaven. "She was the mother," said St. Augustine, "of His flesh, His humanity, His weakness; . . . but the miracle which He was about to do, He was about to do as God, . . . and He did not recognise the human womb, saying in effect, "That in Me which works the miracle was not born of thee." The assertion of His independence is also clear in His words, "What have I to do with thee?" This phrase occurs elsewhere, not only where disrespect is out of the question, but even where superiority is conceded. "What have we to do with thee?" goes with the prayer of the demoniacs to be tormented not (Matt. viii. 29). And in the Old Testament, where it is not rare, the widow of Sarephath spoke thus to Elijah when her son died; and the king of Egypt to Josiah when dissuading him from hostilities (1 Kings xvii. 18; 2 Chron. xxxv. 21; LXX.).

Again, therefore, we find no disrespect, but a very distinct refusal to admit her to a directorship or partnership in His action; and the assertion that He must await another call than hers, and an "hour" that is all His own.

"Mine hour" is often taken to mean His supreme manifestation in death and resurrection, so that He said, This is no time for Me to manifest Myself. "Still He can and does give a picture and type of the manifestation of His glory," adds Luthardt, unconsciously condemning his own exposition. For John says, not that He gave some faint premonition, but that He manifested His very glory; that His hour, in this sense, did presently arrive. Besides, if the time of which He spoke was at a distance of years,

Mary was refused indeed, and could scarcely have proceeded to make arrangements for the expected help. This she did, and it is worthy of remark that the only recorded mandate of her, whom some exalt into a rival deity, is, "Whatsoever He saith unto you, do it." Clearly she understood Him well. His "not yet" told her that His opportunity only awaited some further development, perhaps the very deficiency which she would fain avert, and the pressure of which is quite discernible in the instant bringing of the new supply to the president of the feast. The disciples, at least, would then be in a position to understand the "sign."

The cleansing of hands and vessels was very necessary at a Jewish feast (Mark vii. 3), and accordingly six large vessels were in the room, probably borrowed, and not exactly of the same size, but containing, at the lowest estimate of what is meant, from forty to fifty gallons, and at the largest more than twice as much. That they were "set there" explains how the disciples, with their attention fixed upon their Master, knew whence the wine was. They could not be mistaken; and the large quantity, and the nature of the vessels whence it was drawn, forbade any possibility of fraud.

Let it be observed that Jesus, who never gave luxuries of a kind unusual among His rustic followers, always bestows lavishly, fish that break the net, and again an hundred and fifty and three great fish, and when He gives bread more broken pieces are left over, prepared for distribution, than the loaves which He began to break. It is the manner of Him who crowns the year with His goodness, who fills the valleys with corn, who pours down blessings until there is not room to receive them. In this case timid moralists take fright; they raise prudent theories about the nature of this wine, without reflecting that the very qualifications they seek to insinuate are a censure on

the narrative for introducing no qualifications whatever, since whatever sophistications may be attempted with the Hebrew words for wine, the Greek word stands here unguarded, unashamed, the same as when Paul said, Be not drunken with wine. "It *must* have been unintoxicating wine," says the heedless theorist. But that is precisely the necessity which St. John omits to recognise; he leaves the question open, even though he is obliged to record the somewhat vulgar jest of the governor of the feast, about what is usual when men are tipsy.

Even Keim is not ashamed to swell the cry that this strong phrase (*ὅταν μεθύσθῃσι*) implied excess on the actual occasion. As if the governor of the feast could possibly assert that the guests were intoxicated, a misfortune which would reflect shame most of all upon himself, whose duty was to check any individual who showed the least disposition to exceed. The exaggerated expression is more probably a bucolic attempt to show courtesy by insinuating (without direct mention of so delicate a matter) that there had never been any lack at all; plenty had been given already. But in any light, it ill supports the theory that at the feast which Jesus attended there was only non-intoxicating wine.

The anxious moralist would be much more successful if he were content to observe that circumstances are now entirely altered; that the invention of distilled liquors has revolutionized both the nature of the evil and the stringency of the remedies demanded; that Jesus is never recorded to have needed to rebuke a drunkard; that in the Old Testament wine is mentioned sometimes kindly, sometimes bitterly, according to contemporary social usages,¹ and that

¹ So that the very "wine" which Melchizedek gave to Abraham became "a mocker," and the "strong drink" which was poured upon the altar of God was "raging" and they were denounced as such by inspiration to the children of a more corrupt generation (Gen. xiv. 18; Lev. xxviii. 7; Prov. xx. 1).

our Lord enjoined all that reasonable abstainers need for their justification when He ordered that what offended, even if it were dear and useful as a member of the body, should be cut off and cast away.

This miracle stands admirably at the threshold of our Saviour's ministry, though Keim and others have laboured to remove it to a later period, for the more convenience of explaining it away. The character of it is still unobtrusive, and almost domestic, so that the Gospels of the public ministry did not record it, nor could they rightly have done so. It is in fact transitional, and is redeemed from the suspicion of being merely private, as Mary would fain have made it, by the recorded effect on the disciples, whom it prepared to follow, with added confidence, His stormy and persecuted course. Here they saw His power working in a direction the most unexpected, condescending and benevolent, very unlike the blood-splashed warrior with dyed garments whom they expected. He manifested forth His glory, says the same evangelist who had already recorded, of the Word made flesh, that He dwelt in a tent among us full of grace, and we beheld His glory.

When they looked back, they saw in this miracle also a glorious symbolism. The Jewish religion, and the domestic happiness of mankind, well typified by a marriage feast, what had come over both? Men's worship, men's daily life, alike required to be renovated, lifted above itself. To their longing, their aspiration, nay, their consciousness of what ought to be, the reality was as water unto wine. And Christ came to elevate and deepen both. He did not thrust old things aside, and substitute others altogether: He transformed, deepened, and elevated what was there. Alike in religion and in daily life—

“ 'Tis life, of which our veins are scant,
More life, and fuller, that we want.’ ”

Now this beginning of the signs tells us, what He afterwards plainly said :

“I am come that ye might have life, and that ye might have it more abundantly.”

G. A. CHADWICK.

*THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT IN THE
NEW TESTAMENT.*

IV. ROMANS iii. 24-26.

IN earlier papers we have seen that each of the four Gospels represents Christ as deliberately purposing to go up to Jerusalem in order there to be slain by His enemies, and as teaching that His death was needful for man's salvation, and that it was made needful by man's sin. The same teaching we found re-echoed in the Book of Acts, and asserted in plain language in the Epistles of Peter and John, and in the book of Revelation. Wherein lay the need for this costly means of salvation, *i.e.* why God could not pardon sin apart from the death of Christ, we did not learn. For an answer to this pressing question, we turn now to the writings of the greatest of the apostles, to the epistles of St. Paul.

Among these epistles, that to the Romans claims our first attention. For the absence of any specific topic needing discussion, such as the various topics dealt with in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, left St. Paul free while writing it to give an orderly statement of the Gospel as he was accustomed to preach it in its various parts and as one organic whole. In it we shall find a full and clear account of the purpose and significance of the death of Christ, and of its relation to the good news of salvation announced by Him.

After an apostolic greeting in Romans i. 1-7, and an expression of interest in his readers in verses 8-15, the writer goes on in verse 16 to describe the gospel he is eager to preach at Rome. "It is a power of God for salvation to every one that believeth"; and it is so because "a righteousness of God is revealed in it, by faith, for faith." These last words are supported and in part explained by a quotation from Habakkuk: "The righteous man by faith will live."

At this point St. Paul turns suddenly round from righteousness to unrighteousness, and from faith to idolatry and gross sin. In a moment the light of the Gospel has vanished from our view, and we find ourselves in a world in which every one, Jew or Greek, stands guilty and silent before an angry God. Fortunately, from behind this deep shadow soon shines forth in more conspicuous brightness the light of the Gospel of Christ. In chapter iii. 21 we emerge from the darkness as suddenly as in chapter i. 18 we entered it; and on doing so we find ourselves almost where we were when the darkness fell upon us. We hear the welcome sound of words practically the same as those in chapter i. 17: "but now apart from law a righteousness of God has been manifested, testimony being borne to it by the Law and the Prophets, a righteousness of God through "belief of Jesus Christ for all that believe." This conspicuous and fuller repetition, after a long digression, assures us that in these words we have the foundation-stone of the Gospel as St. Paul understood and preached it. And this inference is confirmed by the re-echoes of the same thought in verse 24, "justified freely"; in verse 25, "propitiation through faith"; in verse 26, "justifying him that is of faith of Jesus"; and by the plain restatement of the same teaching in verse 28, "a man is justified by faith"; in verse 30, "God will justify the circumcision by faith, and the uncircumcision through faith"; and in chapter iv. 5, 11, 24.

Indisputably we have here found the very kernel of the Gospel of Paul.

Across this bright vision of salvation is once more for a moment flung the deep shadow which rests so heavily upon chapters i. 18-iii. 20. But only for a moment. Evidently it is but a counterfoil to the brightness which is now everywhere around us. The sad words, "all have sinned, and fall short of the glory of God," are introduced only to support the universal purpose asserted in the foregoing words, "for all that believe." St. Paul then introduces, in a participial sentence dependent on the words just quoted, a new topic quite different from, though closely related to, the previous teaching of the epistle.

Now for the first time the death of Christ comes into view. Only after St. Paul has proved that all men are under condemnation, and has announced justification for all through faith in Christ, can he speak of justification through the death of Christ. For apart from these earlier doctrines, this costly means of salvation is needless and meaningless. In verses 24-26 we have an exposition, the fullest which the Bible contains, of the great doctrine that salvation comes to believers through the death of Christ upon the cross.

That this doctrine is introduced, not in an independent assertion, but in a subordinate clause, may surprise us. But it is in complete harmony with St. Paul's mode of thought. By uniting in one sentence and in logical connection the doctrine that "all have sinned" with justification by the free, undeserved favour of God, and through the death of Christ, he teaches that the one doctrine implies and supports the other. The costliness of the blessing is here represented as proving how far man had fallen. Just so the doctrine of universal sin is adduced in verse 23 as an explanation of justification through faith. By thus linking these doctrines together, St. Paul shows that they are inseparably connected.

The meaning of the word *justified* is placed beyond doubt by its frequent use in the LXX. and elsewhere in the New Testament. It is a technical legal term for a judge's sentence, just or unjust, in a man's favour. So Deuteronomy xxv. 1, "If there be a controversy between men and they come to judgment . . . then they shall justify the righteous and condemn the wicked"; and Proverbs xvii. 15, "He that justifieth the wicked and he that condemneth the righteous, both of them alike are an abomination to the Lord." Similarly Isaiah v. 23, 1 Kings viii. 32, 2 Chronicles vi. 23, Exodus xxiii. 7, Isaiah l. 8. Also, as a rendering of another form of the same Hebrew word, Job xxxii. 2, "He justified himself rather than God." In Matthew xii. 37, Romans ii. 13, it describes the acquittal of the righteous in the day of judgment. Compare Luke x. 29, "Wishing to justify himself"; chapter vii. 29, "They justified God"; ver. 35, "Wisdom justified by her children"; chapters xvi. 15, xviii. 14.

In the above passages, and wherever it is used in the Bible, except possibly Daniel xii. 3, Isaiah liii. 11, leaving out of account the phrase "justified through faith" now under investigation, the word *justify* cannot possibly mean to make a man actually righteous; but evidently means by thought, word, or act, to treat or receive him as such.

In the passage before us, Romans iii. 24, St. Paul asserts that we are justified, as a free gift, by the undeserved favour of God, and by means of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus.

The word rendered *redemption* is cognate to that rendered *ransom* in Matthew xx. 28, Mark x. 45. It is found in Romans viii. 23, 1 Corinthians i. 30, Ephesians i. 7, 14, iv. 30, Colossians i. 14, Hebrews ix. 15, xi. 35, Luke xxi. 28; but apparently not in the LXX. The corresponding verb is found in Exodus xxi. 8, "He shall let her go-free-for-a

ransom; and in Zephaniah iii. 1, but not in the New Testament.

Already, on pages 6-8, we have seen that the word *ransom* always denotes liberation, and usually liberation by payment of a price. The verb corresponding to the word now before us means indisputably in Exodus xxi. 8 liberation on payment of a price; and this seems to be its usual meaning. But both substantive and verb are very rare. The meaning of the word in the New Testament must be determined by its context, and by its cognates which are common both in New Testament and in LXX. In all these and always, as we have seen, we have conspicuously the idea of liberation, and frequently that of liberation by a price paid.

In Romans iii. 24 the idea of liberation is already suggested by the word *justified*. For we have here the justification of those whom the Law condemned. And a judge's sentence in a criminal's favour is followed by release. Consequently, since the Gospel announces the justification of all who believe, for them there is liberation. In this sense justification implies *redemption*.

The use of this last word by St. Paul in the passage before us recalls at once Matthew xx. 28, "To give His life a ransom for many"; and 1 Peter i. 18, 19, expounded on page 185, "Ransomed not with silver or gold . . . but with precious blood, even that of Christ." In these passages we have expressly liberation by price. At the close of this exposition and in future papers we shall find that this idea was also present to the thought of St. Paul.

In verse 25 the Apostle goes on to speak further about Him in whom this redemption takes place, "Whom God set forth as a *propitiation*." The word *ἱλαστήριον* is cognate to *ἱλασμός* in 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10, and denotes a means, or something pertaining to a means, of propitiation, *i.e.* as expounded on pages 122, 123, a means by which a sinner may escape from the penalty due to his sin. As such, St.

Paul now asserts that God *set forth* Christ, *i.e.* set Him conspicuously before the eyes of men.

The phrase *propitiation through faith* asserts that the propitiation becomes effective through each one's own faith, *i.e.* that through faith each one escapes from the penalty due to his sin. This is but a restatement of the foundation doctrine of verses 21, 22. For, if God receives as righteous all who believe, then by faith they escape punishment. The insertion of the words *through faith* keeps before us the great doctrine asserted in verse 22, and thus reveals its importance in the thought of Paul.

The words *in His blood* recall at once the violent death of Christ upon the cross. They may be connected either with *faith*, or with *propitiation*, or again with *set forth as a propitiation*. The word *faith* is followed by the preposition *ἐν* in Ephesians i. 15, 1 Timothy iii. 13, 2 Timothy i. 13, iii. 15, but not elsewhere in the New Testament. Moreover, nowhere in the New Testament is the blood of Christ represented as the object of saving faith. It is therefore better to join these words (as in R.V. text though not margin) with the main assertion of this clause, and to understand it to mean that God set forth Christ, covered with His own blood, before the eyes of men that He might be a means by which sinners should escape the due punishment of their sins, a means made effective by each one's own faith. But, whatever be the grammatical connection, these words assert plainly and conspicuously that the efficacy of the means of salvation used by God lay in the shed blood and violent death of Christ. Had not that blood been shed on Golgotha, there had been neither faith nor propitiation "in His blood."

The word *ἱλαστήριον* is used in Exodus xxv. 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, and elsewhere for the lid covering the Ark of the Covenant. This use of the word derives great appropriateness from the fact that before and upon this cover was

sprinkled the blood of the goat slain on the great Day of Atonement, as prescribed in Leviticus xvi. 2, 13, 14, 15, where we have again the same word. In this sense, with express reference to the tabernacle, it is used in Hebrews ix. 5. And it has been suggested, *e.g.* recently by Oltramare in his valuable commentary on the epistle, that this is its reference here. This exposition implies that the mercy-seat was in some sense a symbol of Christ as set forth in His blood. But of such symbolic significance we have no hint in the Bible. There is no reference here to the Ark or the Tabernacle. And it is not easy to see what enrichment such reference would give to St. Paul's thought. And, as we have seen, the simple sense, as expounded above, makes the whole passage intelligible. Indeed, if we accepted the symbolic sense, we should only have to look upon the mercy-seat as the place at which propitiation was annually made by the sprinkling of blood for the sins of the people. So that either exposition would give practically the same result.

Next follows a statement of the purpose for which God set forth Christ to be a propitiation in His blood, viz. "for a proof of His righteousness." These last words can be no other than God's attribute of righteousness, as His purpose is further expounded in verse 26, "Himself just and justifying." Similarly, in verse 5, the same phrase is contrasted with "our unrighteousness," and is expounded by the question, "Is God righteous who inflicts His anger?" Evidently St. Paul wishes to say that God set forth Christ covered with His own blood in order to give proof that in His government of the world He acts according to the principles embodied in His own law. For this is the righteousness of a ruler. These words thus differ in meaning from the same phrase in verses 21, 22, "Righteousness of God manifested . . . righteousness of God through faith." But the meaning in each case is made clear by the context.

The word rendered *proof* may be studied in 2 Corinthians viii. 24, "The proof of your love"; and in Philippians i. 28, "Proof of perdition . . . of salvation." The fearlessness of the Christians under persecution was a proof that God was with them and therefore that they were in the way of salvation, and that their enemies were fighting against God and were therefore in a way leading to destruction.

To the purpose just asserted, St. Paul now adds a motive prompting God to give this proof of His righteousness, viz. His own forbearance towards sins committed in days gone by: "Because of the passing over of sins before-committed in the forbearance of God." The rare word *πάρεσις*, seems to denote a letting go by, as distinguished from the not uncommon word *ἄφεσις* which denotes forgiveness, or an indulgent delay of punishment; a meaning suggested by the words following, "In the forbearance of God." "The before-committed sins" can only be those committed before the death of Christ. The due and announced punishment of sin is death. And justice always demands an early infliction of punishment. To permit needless delay of punishment, is unjust and is injurious to the State. Yet for long ages sin had run riot on earth, even among the people to whom God had given a written law prescribing death as the penalty of sin. That those whom the law condemned to die were permitted to live, seemed to show that the punitive justice of God was asleep. St. Paul says that this long forbearance in the past moved God to set forth Christ as a propitiation in His blood in order to give proof in the present time of His righteousness, which seemed to have been obscured by this long-continued forbearance. That this purpose is stated twice, before and after the mention of God's forbearance, reveals its importance in the thought of St. Paul and in his present argument.

This divine purpose by no means implies that God was under obligation to give up Christ to die, but only that in ages gone by God acted as He would not have done had He not resolved to give in later ages this great manifestation of His righteousness which He had permitted to remain for a time in some measure overshadowed. The words "in the present season" contrast conspicuously His action in St. Paul's day with the sins committed in earlier days.

The long sentence I am in this paper endeavouring to expound concludes with a statement of the ultimate purpose for which God set forth Christ as a propitiation: "That He may be Himself righteous and a justifier of him who hath faith in Jesus." These last words are incapable of exact rendering into English. "Faith of Jesus" is, as in verse 22, a faith of which He is the personal object. Practically it is belief of the word and promise of Jesus. The man whom God justifies is τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ, i.e. one whose relation to God is determined by, and in this sense derived from, faith in Christ. So verse 30: "Who will justify the circumcision by faith," δικαιώσει περιτομὴν ἐκ πίστεως. Of such, God is a justifier: δικαιοῦντα τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ. St. Paul asserts that the ultimate aim for which God gave up Christ to die was to unite in Himself the two characters of being "Himself righteous," and receiving as righteous those who have faith in Christ. In other words, God gave Christ to die in order to reconcile with His own justice the justification of believers.

Notice here an aim slightly different from that set forth in the words foregoing, "for a proof of His righteousness." These earlier words imply that apart from the death of Christ the righteousness of God would be obscured by the justification of believers. The concluding words of verse 26 imply that to justify sinners without some such propitiation as that here described would be actually unrighteous.

This development of thought is a legitimate inference.

For justice ever demands to be made conspicuously manifest. A judge who, without strong reason, permits his justice even to be obscured is no good pattern of justice.

The above exposition implies that the death of Christ was absolutely needful for man's salvation, and that this necessity lay in the justice of God, which forbade the justification of sinners except by means of the propitiation found in the blood of Christ. For God cannot possibly be unjust. Consequently, if by the death of Christ God harmonized with His own justice the pardon of sin, He thus made possible that which otherwise would have been impossible. Moreover, if this end could have been attained by a less costly sacrifice, we may infer with confidence that God would not have paid for it a price infinitely and needlessly great. Indeed, had He done so, it would have been no proof of His love; for genuine love never prompts a needless sacrifice. In other words, the passage before us implies that to fallen man the only way of salvation was through the cross of Christ, and that every other way was closed by the justice of God; that in the very nature of God there was a barrier to the justification of sinners, and that God Himself broke down this barrier by giving Christ to die.

This plain inference cannot be evaded by expounding the words *εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν δίκαιον* as describing not a purpose, but only an actual result of God's surrender of Christ to die, "so that He is Himself just and a justifier," etc. For the preposition *εἰς* followed by an infinitive mood with the neuter article is constantly used in Greek and in the New Testament to describe a purpose; so Romans i. 11, "That ye may be strengthened"; chapter viii. 29, *εἰς τὸ εἶναι πρῶτ.*, "That He may be first-born among many brethren"; xi. 11, "In order to provoke them"; xii. 2; and elsewhere frequently. To denote a mere result, the Greek language has the common conjunction, *ὥστε* with infinitive or indicative, as in chapter vii. 4 and 6. In verse 25, *εἰς ἐνδειξιν* indis-

putably denotes a purpose ; and it is difficult to give to the same preposition another sense in verse 26. Moreover, this exposition, even if grammatically admissible, would not greatly change the practical significance of the sentence. For if the death of Christ has, as matter of mere result, harmonized the justification of believers with the justice of God, then through His death that which without it would have been unjust and therefore impossible has become just and actual. So remarkable a result could hardly have come without a deliberate design of God. In other words, the result implies the design.

Nor would the practical significance of these words be much altered if we gave to them a merely logical sense, "in order that He may be seen to be just and a justifier," etc. For if to justify sinners by mere prerogative was not in itself inconsistent with the justice of God, it is difficult to conceive that its justice was incapable of demonstration except at the infinite cost of the death of Christ. In any case, God could not possibly permit His justice to be permanently obscured. And if, as St. Paul here asserts, God gave Christ to die in order to vindicate His justice, we infer with confidence that for this end nothing less than this costly sacrifice was sufficient, and that consequently the death of Christ was demanded by the justice of God. This being so, there is no reason why we should not give to these plain words their simple meaning.

We have now learnt, by careful exposition of his own words, that St. Paul taught that God gave Christ to die in order to harmonize with His own justice the justification of believers. If so, their justification was impossible apart from the death of Christ ; and the impossibility lay in the essential righteousness of God.

These results, derived from our examination of the ultimate purpose of the death of Christ as set forth in verse 26, will explain the language used in verses 25 and 24, and the

New Testament teaching expounded in my earlier papers. For if, as we have just seen, St. Paul taught that the justification of sinners was impossible apart from the death of Christ, and that God gave Christ to die in order to remove this impossibility and to save all who believe, then is His death the divinely given means of their salvation; and St. Paul could correctly say that God set forth Christ to be a propitiation through faith in His blood. For through His death and by God's design believers escape the due penalty of their sins. We understand also 1 John ii. 2, "and Himself is a propitiation for our sins, and not for ours only, but also for all the world"; and chapter iv. 10, "sent His Son to be a propitiation for our sins."

We understand now "the redemption which is in Christ Jesus" in verse 24. For we have learnt that whereas apart from the death of Christ forgiveness was impossible, now through His death all who believe are justified. Consequently in Him there is liberation from the guilt and stain and bondage of sin, and this liberation has cost the price of (Matthew xx. 28, Mark x. 45) His life and of (1 Peter i. 19) His precious blood. These are our ransom as being the costly means of our salvation.

This exposition relieves us from the difficulty of saying to whom was paid the ransom price of our salvation. It was paid to no one. The phraseology before us is only a metaphorical and expressive mode of asserting the costliness of our salvation. The metaphor underlying this phraseology is one of the most frequent in human language and thought. Whatever is obtained with difficulty, with effort or toil or pain, we speak of as costing this effort or toil or pain, even when no one receives the price we pay. And only in this sense is the death of Christ the ransom of our life.

We understand also the absolute necessity of the death of Christ as asserted in Matthew xvi. 21, "He must needs

go away to Jerusalem . . . and be put to death." For if, apart from the death of Christ, the justice of God forbade the justification of sinners, His death was absolutely needful for the work He came to accomplish. This necessity moved the great Teacher to put Himself, of His own free will and in the prime of life, in the hands of men who He knew would kill Him. Thus are explained all the passages expounded in my earlier papers which assert or imply the necessity of the death of Christ for our salvation, of those which speak of Him as deliberately laying down His life, and of those which call attention to His death as in a special sense, and as distinguished from His example and teaching, a means of our salvation. In other words, the passage now before us is a key which unlocks the teaching of the entire New Testament about the death of Christ in its relation to the salvation of men.

The correctness of our exposition of this passage will be confirmed in subsequent papers by the logical and practical inferences which in the Epistle to the Romans St. Paul derives from the fundamental statement now expounded, and by other passages in other epistles in which we shall find similar teaching.

It must be admitted that the above explanation needs to be itself explained. It raises questions as serious as those which it answers. We still ask, Why cannot a just ruler pardon by mere prerogative? And with still greater perplexity we ask, How does the death of the Innocent harmonize with the justice of God the pardon of the guilty? These difficult questions we must postpone until we have completed our study of the teaching of the New Testament on the purpose and the significance of the death of Christ.

Meanwhile something has been accomplished. We have found, in St. Paul's most systematic exposition of the Gospel of Christ and immediately following his enunciation

of his fundamental doctrine of justification through faith, a careful statement setting forth the relation of the death of Christ to this great doctrine. And we have seen that this statement gives unity and intelligibility to the teaching on this subject of the four Gospels, the Book of Acts, the Epistles of Peter, and the Book of Revelation. In other papers we shall find that the teaching of St. Paul just expounded underlies his entire thought touching the death of Christ in its relation to the salvation of men.

In my next paper we shall consider the teaching of the remainder of the Epistle to the Romans and that of the Epistles to the Galatians and the Corinthians.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF THE JOHANNEAN QUESTION.

VI. PARTITION AND DERIVATION THEORIES.

THE position of things in the Liberal camp at the present moment is this. There is a small group of Irreconcilables whose literary defence of their views is really not such as to claim serious consideration. Thoma is the most voluminous ; Pfeiderer the most distinguished. There are however two Pfeiderers, the theologian and the critic. Pfeiderer the skilful and lucid exponent not so much of the history as of the logical relations of doctrine is one thing, Pfeiderer the historical critic is another. In this latter capacity I am afraid that if all criticism were like his, the character which it bears in some quarters would not be undeserved. For any power of estimating historical evidence or discriminating between the relative value of verified fact and hypothesis we look in vain. Confident assertion does duty for proof where proof is most needed. I may have been unfortunate, but in the parts of *Urchristenthum* which I have read there were more disputable propositions than paragraphs, sometimes even than sentences. Only some eleven pages (pp. 776-786) are given directly to the question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. In this Dr. Pfeiderer sees neither mystery nor difficulty. He will not hear of any half measures. The Gospel clearly comes after a group of Deutero-Pauline writings which belong to the first decades of the second century—the writings attributed to St. Luke and the Epistles to the Hebrews and Ephesians.

We remember by the way that the first of these Epistles is quoted at length in the Epistle of Clement of Rome, which the great majority of critics with clearly preponderant probability place in the year 95 or 96 ; but the mere fact

that it quotes Hebrews makes Pfeiderer remove it into the second century, though he has only a "perhaps" for the date of Hebrews itself.

The Fourth Gospel was written between Barcochba and Justin (135-158 A.D. according to Pfeiderer's dating; a recent writer, Krüger, places the First Apology on which the question turns in 138 A.D., Dr. Hort c. 146). The Gospel was written at Ephesus, by a single author, who from the miracles to which he gives admission cannot have been either the Apostle or a disciple of the Apostle, but was a nameless person who sought to invest his work with Apostolic authority; the ideas are largely derived from Philo, and a great part of the narrative is pure allegory.

Again I would ask the reader to recall and compare with this the external and internal evidence as it has been stated in previous papers.

The great mass of Liberal opinion in its more reasonable exponents is so alive to the weight of the arguments for the genuineness of the Gospel that it is trending more and more in the direction of a compromise; it is more and more seeking for some solution which shall not cut the Gospel adrift, but shall connect it by some tie, stronger or weaker, with the beloved Apostle.

I spoke in my first paper of the double form which this solution was taking. There are some who divide up the Gospel into sections and assign by far the greater number directly to St. John, but the remainder away from him. There are others who contend that no part of the Gospel was actually committed to writing by the Apostle, but that the whole is the work of one of his disciples, drawing upon the tradition which he had heard from his master.

When it is a question of dividing the Gospel, and saying that this part is genuine and that not, we naturally think of the narratives and the discourses, and we are reminded of the way in which the two most eminent literary critics

who have dealt with the Gospel took opposite sides on this point.

"M. Renan," writes our own Matthew Arnold, "often so ingenious as well as eloquent, says that the narrative and incidents in the Fourth Gospel are probably in the main historical, the discourses invented! Reverse the proposition and it would be more plausible. The narrative, so meagre, and skipping so unaccountably backwards and forwards between Galilee and Jerusalem, might well be thought, not indeed invented, but a matter of infinitely little care and attention to the writer of the Gospel, a mere slight framework in which to set the doctrine and discourses of Jesus. The doctrine and discourses of Jesus, on the other hand, *cannot* in the main be the writer's, because in the main they are clearly out of his reach."¹

It is easy to see what is in the mind of both writers. M. Renan, the skilled Orientalist, who had himself made the pilgrimage to Palestine, and who has always a quick though not always a sure eye for the play of human nature, cannot resist the indications in the Gospel of true local colour and reality. On the other hand, Matthew Arnold, the charm of whose writings consists in his instinctive delight in and unfailing response to the higher expression of the things of the spirit, sees at once that the Johannine discourses have in them something which is above the level even of an Apostle.

The recent attempts to work out in detail the separation of the two elements, that which is original from that which is not original, in the Gospel of St. John, do not follow the dividing line of discourse and narrative.² And yet it is rather remarkable that the most important of these attempts all seem to make a point of removing the chief stumbling-block in the eyes of Matthew Arnold, the skipping of the narrative backwards and forwards from Jeru-

¹ *Literature and Dogma* (London, 1873), p. 170.

² The earlier partition theories of Weisse and Schenkel seem to have gone on the principle of keeping the discourses and rejecting the history, or at least referring it to a disciple: *vid.* Bleek-Mangold, *Einleitung*, p. 292 f.

salem to Galilee and from Galilee to Jerusalem. They do it however hardly for this, or for the same reason. Wendt gets rid of the Galilæan episodes in order that he may throw all the discourses to the end of our Lord's life, where he thinks that they are in place and in keeping with the main outlines of the narrative in the other Gospels.¹ There is, I confess, to me something attractive in this, though we may question whether it justifies the use of the knife quite so freely. It is a less violent method to explain the facts by what I have ventured to call the process of *foreshortening*, or anticipation of later utterances on earlier occasions, to which the mind of the aged Evangelist might naturally be liable.

Delff is not thinking of the distinction between earlier and later, but he has arrived at the conclusion that the author was a native of Jerusalem, a member of one of the high-priestly families; and it is therefore natural to him to make the range of vision bounded by the horizon of Jerusalem. He thinks that additions were made to the original document with the view of harmonizing it (1) with the Galilæan tradition, established through the other Gospels; (2) with the current Chiliastic expectations; (3) with the philosophy of Alexandria.² There is a touch here of the "vigour and rigour" which Matthew Arnold noted as a tendency of German criticism. Even if we believed that the author of the Gospel was a dweller in Jerusalem, it still would not be beyond the bounds of possibility that he should know—and that from personal experience—what passed in Galilee. It is also not so unheard of for the same mind to entertain trains of thought on two different planes at the same time, one it may be inherited, the other a product of its own inward reflexion and development. And lastly, we have seen it to be not so certain that the author introduces the Alexandrian philosophy at all.

¹ *Lehre Jesu*, p. 289.

² *Das vierte Evang.*, p. 13.

These considerations go far to do away with the necessity of assuming that the Gospel has been interpolated. Still it may be of some interest in itself and may possibly serve a useful purpose in the future to compare the schemes arrived at by two different writers quite independently. As there is a still further coincidence with the older writer, Schweizer, I add his scheme from Archdeacon Watkins' *Bampton Lectures*, p. 249.

TABULAR VIEW OF PARTITION THEORIES AS APPLIED TO THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

Sections Supposed to be Interpolated.

Alex. Schweizer, 1841.		i. 21f., Elias or the Prophet. ii. 1-12, Marriage at Cana. iv. 44-54, Reception in Galilee; Noble- man's Son. vi. 1-26, Miracle of 5,000. xvi. 30, "Now we know that Thou knowest all things." xviii. 9, None lost. xix. 35-37, Witness of Blood and Water. xxi., Supplemental Chapter.
H.H. Wendt, 1886.	i 6-8, 15, Witness of Baptist.	i. 19-34, Witness of Baptist. 35, 52, Messiahship exhibited. ii. 1-12, Marriage at Cana, a Sign of Messiahship. 21, Comment by Evangelist. iii. 2b, "None can do these signs." 5, <i>ὁδατος καί</i> . 22-iv. 3, Baptist's Discourse. iv. 10 part, 11, 15-18 (?), Samaritan Husband. 25-26, Messiahship declared. 27b-30, 35b, 39-42, Narrative Setting. 43-54, Reception in Galilee. v. 1-16, Modified from Original by Reminiscence of Mark ii. 10 ff. 28, 29, Bodily Resurrection. 33, 34 (?), Deputation to John. vi. 1-26, Miracle of 5,000. 39, 40, 44, 54, "I will raise him at the last day."

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- H. H. Wendt, i. 6-8, 15, vi. 59, Synagogue at Capernaum.
 1886. Witness 62, Ascension a Scandal.
 of Baptist. 64*b*, 70, 71, The Traitor.
 vii. 1, 2, 8-14, Expanded Narrative.
 20, 21*a*, "Thou hast a devil."
 30-32, 35*f*., 37*a*, 39, 44-52, mostly
 Narrative Insertions.
 53-viii, 11, *Pericope Adulteræ*.
 viii. 20*a*, Treasury; 30, 31, Mary Be-
 lieves.
 ix. 1-3, 6-31, Narrative of Blind Man.
 x. 19-21 (perhaps), 22, 23 (perhaps), 39,
 40-42, Narrative Insertions, etc.
 xi., 1-7*a*, 11-15, 17-20, 24, 28-46 (mainly),
 Raising of Lazarus (narrative
 portion).
 47-xii. 19, Ephraim; Supper at
 Bethany, etc.
 xii. 28*b*-30, Voice from Heaven.
 37, 39-43, 47*b*, 40, "Last Day."
 xiii. 11, 18*f*., 21-31*a*, The Traitor (cf.
 Mark xiv. 17-21).
 xvi. 13, *καὶ τὰ ἐρχόμενα ἀναγγελεῖ ὑμῖν*.
 xviii.-xx. (except xviii. 35*b*-38*a*, xix. 9-
 11*a*).
- Hugo Delff, i. 1-6, The ii. 1-11, Marriage at Cana.
 1890. Logos as 17, 20, 21, Comments of Evangelist
 Life and iv. 44, Reception in Galilee.
 Light. 46-54, Nobleman's Son.
 9-19, The v. 19-30, Judgment and Resurrection.
 Logos In- vi. 1-30, Miracle of 5,000. [Wanting in
 carnate. Celsus' Copy, *Das vierte Evang.*,
 p. 14.]
 37-40, Judgment and Resurrection.
 44, Resurrection.
 54, "
 59, Synagogue at Capernaum.
 vii. 39, Comment.
 xii. 16, Comment.
 26-31, Voice from Heaven.
 33, Comment.
 xiii. 20, "He that receiveth whomsoever
 I shall send."
 xx. 11-19, Mary at the Sepulchre.
 xxi., Supplemental Chapter.

We have seen that the arguments *for* the hypothesis of interpolation are far from convincing. It remains to ask whether there are not also valid arguments *against* the hypothesis. The weight of opinion is clearly against it. Schürer must be reckoned on the adverse side.¹ On the same side we might for once quote Pfeiderer, though the second half of his sentence contains an unpardonable exaggeration, abundantly refuted in Wendt's recent volume :

"These Johannean discourses are so much of one piece (aus einem Guss), form and substance are so inseparable, and the discourses again are so entirely one with the narratives which introduce or illustrate them that it is impossible to separate the one from the other : if one does eliminate from these discourses all that does not suit the personages of the history because it belongs to later theological reflexion, what then will be left of them still remaining ?" ²

But the most weightily expressed opinion is that of Holtzmann :

"However, all attempts to draw a clearly distinguishable line of demarcation, whether it be between earlier and later strata, or between genuine and not genuine, historical and unhistorical elements, must always be wrecked against the solid and compact unity which the work presents, both in regard to language and in regard to matter. Apart from the interpolations indicated by the history of the Text (v. 4, vii. 53-viii. 11), and from the last chapter added by way of supplement, the work is, both in form and substance, both in arrangement and in range of ideas, an organic whole without omissions or interpolations, the "seamless coat," which can be parted or torn, but only by a happy cast allotted to its rightful owner (so especially Hilgenfeld and Strauss)." ³

This "solid and compact unity" alike in language, in structure, and in thought, is indeed the keynote of the Gospel, and marks the fatal objection to any theory of partition. I have little doubt that the more closely the Gospel is studied the more conclusively will this be proved. I cannot stay to go into much detail at present, but a few

¹ *Vortrag*, pp. 50, 56.

² *Urchristenthum*, p. 781.

³ *Einleitung* (2nd ed.), p. 457.

remarks may be made to show the general direction that the argument would take.

In the first place, it may be noted that Wendt by getting rid of so much of the narrative portion of the Gospel sacrifices just that which comes to us with the highest credentials as history. It sacrifices all the first chapter after ~~the~~ prologue with the admirable scene between St. John and the deputation, and the other ~~scene~~ ~~hardly less~~ ~~graphic~~ and natural, which shows how disciples gathered round a master. It sacrifices not all, but many features in the striking seventh chapter which takes us down among the crowd and up into the conclave of the Pharisees and lets us hear their comments. It sacrifices a fresh and lifelike sketch, full of Jewish touches, the healing of the blind man in chapter ix. It sacrifices not only much of the earlier part of chapter ix., but the last section which is on a par with chapter vii. as a picture of the surroundings among which Jesus moved. It sacrifices the hearing before Annas, so probable and so characteristic; it sacrifices many characteristic details in the hearing before Pilate, and indeed leaves but little remaining of the story of the Passion. Along with these larger pieces of narrative it cuts out a number of smaller particulars on which we rely, and have seen reason to rely: Bethany beyond Jordan, Ænon and Salim, the pool of Bethesda or Bezetha with its five colonnades, the treasury, the feast of dedication, perhaps Solomon's porch, Kedron, and so on. All these are points which, it seems to me, that a historian with an eye for facts would be least willing to let go.

Delf does not make this mistake, and less exception can be taken to his procedure on a broad view of the case. But he cuts off the prologue which forms such a fitting and majestic vestibule to the rest of the Gospel. He inverts the view of Baur and his school, which made all the rest of the Gospel a dramatizing or embodying in action of the

great leading ideas of the prologue. And yet stripped of its exaggeration, there was too much truth in that view for it to be lightly abandoned. It is impossible to take up Delf's version of the Gospel without a sense of mutilation.

An argument like this may be thought somewhat subjective in its character. But when these supposed interpolations are examined they will be found to be full of cross-references pointing backwards or forwards and indissolubly linking the portions rejected to those received as genuine. The narrative of St. John is so direct and simple that characteristic expressions are less easily detected in it; but even so the passages which are alleged to be interpolations yield too many to be safely set aside. It would be wearisome and I confess I think unnecessary to go over the whole ground, but a few specimens may be given from the first two chapters.

CROSS-REFERENCES

FROM PASSAGES SUPPOSED TO BE INTERPOLATED TO

PASSAGES RETAINED AS GENUINE.

DELFF.

i. 4. "In Him was life."

xi. 25, xiv. 6. "I am the life."
cf. v. 40, vi. 35, x. 10, etc.
ζωή occurs 36 times and is very characteristic.

i. 4. "The light of men."

viii. 12, ix. 5. "I am the light of the world." *φῶς 22 times in the Gospel.*

i. 5. Light in darkness.

xii. 46. Light and darkness: *cf.* iii. 19, viii. 12, xii. 35. *σκορία also characteristic.*

i. 5. *ἡ σκορία οὐ κατέλαβεν.*

xii. 35. *μὴ σκορία καταλάβῃ.*

i. 10. "He was in the world, and the world was made by Him, and the world knew Him not."

xvii. 25. "The world hath not known Thee, but I have known Thee, and these have known that Thou hast sent Me."

The structure in triplets which is very marked in this context, also underlies many other passages.

- i. 10. "He was in the world." iii. 19. "The light is come into the world; cf. ix. 5, 39, xi. 27, xvi. 28, etc. κόσμος 77 times in the Gospel, 3 times each in St. Mark and St. Luke.
- i. 10. "The world knew Him not." xiv. 7. "The world cannot receive . . . neither knoweth Him: cf. xiv. 19, xv. 18, xvii. 14.
- i. 11. *εἰς τὰ ἴδια.* xvi. 32, xix. 27. *εἰς τὰ ἴδια*; viii. 44, *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων.*
- i. 11. *οἱ ἴδιοι.* xiii. 1. *τοὺς ἰδίους*; cf. xv. 19.
- i. 12. *τέκνα Θεοῦ γενέσθαι.* 1 John iii. 1. *ἵνα τέκνα Θεοῦ κληθῶμεν*; cf. John xi. 52. [Dr. Delff would probably refer the Ep. not to the author but to the redactor of Gospel: still the coincidence is interesting.]
- i. 13. "Born not of blood," etc. iii. 5. "Except a man be born . . . of the Spirit," etc.
- i. 14. "Was made flesh." viii. 40. "A man (*ἄνθρωπον*) that hath told you the truth.
- i. 14. "We beheld His glory." xi. 40. "Thou shouldst see the glory of God"; cf. ii. 11 [rejected], xii. 41, xvii. 5, 22, 44.
- i. 14. *μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός.* iii. 16. *τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν μονογενῆ*; cf. iii. 18.
- i. 17. "The law was given by Moses." vii. 19. "Did not Moses give you the law?"
- i. 17. "Truth by Jesus Christ." xiv. 6. "I am the truth"; truth a characteristic word, 25 times in all.
- i. 18. "No man hath seen God." v. 37. "We have not . . . seen His shape."
- i. 18. "Only-begotten." See on i. 14.
- i. 18. "He hath declared Him." xiv. 9. "He hath seen the Father"; cf. xii. 45.
- i. 18. *ἐκεῖνος ἐξηγήσατο.* Characteristic form of phrase; cf. i. 33, *ὁ πέμψας* . . . *ἐκεῖνός μοι εἶπεν*, v. 11, ix. 37, x. 1, xii. 48, xiv. 21, 26, xv. 26.
- ii. 4. "Woman, what have I to do with thee?" xix. 26. "Woman, behold thy son!"

i. 2. "The hour is not yet come."

ii. 7. "But the servants which knew the water knew."

ii. 12. "The beginning of signs."

ii. 11. "Manifested forth His glory."

ii. 11. *Glory coupled with manifestation.*

ii. 11. *Glory in juxtaposition with belief.*

WENDT.

i. 19. *ἡ μαρτυρία.*

i. 20. "Confessed and denied not."

i. 28. "These things," etc.

i. 31. *φανερῶθῃ.*

i. 32, 34. "Bare record."

Characteristic phrase; cf. vii. 21, vii. 23, xii. 21, xii. 2, xvi. 21, and vii. 4, 5.

The mode of parenthetic justification or restriction is characteristic; cf. i. 21. "Through Jesus Himself happened not."

[i. 21: "Howbeit there came other tokens," etc., is rejected.]

vii. 22. "Not because it is of Moses."

xii. 4. "This he said, not that he cared for the poor," etc.

"Signs" in this sense is well-known as a characteristic word, occurring 17 times in the Gospel.

i. 14. "We saw His glory" [rejected by Delff. not by Wendt].

vii. 4. "When [rather Because] he saw His glory."

xvii. 5, 22, 24.

xvii. 4-6. The Son glorified, the Father's Name manifested.

xvii. 21-25 similar juxtaposition.

Characteristic idea and word; 29 times in Johannine writings (incl. Apoc.), only 7 times besides in N. T.

For emphatic combination of positive and negative, cf. i. 3, iii. 16, vi. 50, 51.

[Wendt excises all historical notes, or we might compare for mode of introduction, viii. 20, and for place, x. 40.]

Characteristic word; 9 times in St. John, only 3 times in Synoptics (including disputed verses of St. Mark).

See above on i. 19:

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|---|---|
| i. 33. <i>ἐκείνος</i> . | <i>See above on i. 18.</i> |
| i. 38, 50. "Rabbi." | <i>Standing title (8 times) in St. John, not in St. Luke.</i> |
| i. 39. "Tenth hour." | <i>[Notes of time are characteristic of the Johannean narrative, but are struck out by Wendt.]</i> |
| i. 44. "Now Philip was of Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Peter." | xii. 21, 22 <i>[left by Wendt]</i> . "The same came to Philip which was of Bethsaida . . . Philip . . . taketh Andrew." |
| i. 46. "Any good thing out of Nazareth." | vii. 41. "Shall the Christ come out of Galilee?" <i>[left by Wendt, though not vii. 52.]</i> |
| i. 50. "Greater things than these." | v. 20. "Greater works than these"; cf. xiv. 12. |
| ii. 1-12. <i>See above.</i> | |

In view of this evidence, which it is clear might be extended indefinitely, I do not think that many of us will hesitate to reject decidedly all the partition theories before us, and indeed to go a step beyond this, and assert with Holtzmann the essential and indissoluble unity of the Gospel.

But now the further question arises: Is not Holtzmann also right in refusing to share the contents of the Gospel between disciple and Master? The vertical dividing up of the Gospel is found to be untenable; is the horizontal dividing of it any more tenable?

We saw in our original survey that this was the direction in which many of the best critics were tending. We may exclude writers like Ewald who does not seem to want any more extensive editing by the Ephesian Church than most of us would be ready to grant. We also need not go back to writers like Schenkel and Tobler.¹ But Schürer himself is in favour of this hypothesis. Reuss and Renan are both in favour of it. And above all it is strongly supported by

¹ Bleek-Mangold, *Eint.*, p. 293f.; Watkins, *Bampton Lect.*, p. 248ff.

Weizsäcker in a very able piece of constructive criticism.¹ Can we yield to the authority of these certainly important names?

The object is, as has been said, a compromise. The writers in question are so much impressed by the signs of historic accuracy in the Gospel, that they are compelled to regard it as embodying a good tradition; and they find no valid reason against, but rather every reason for, referring that tradition to St. John. Both Schürer and Weizsäcker quietly put aside the doubts which have been raised as to the Apostle's residence in Asia Minor. "For this," says Weizsäcker, "we have in fact proof which cannot up to the present time be regarded as shaken."² For the supposition of a confusion between the Apostle and any other John, Schürer thinks that there is no good ground.³ Assuming the truth of this Ephesian tradition, it is then natural to draw the picture which Weizsäcker draws of the school which gathered there round the Apostle, and produced under the influence of his teaching first the Apocalypse and afterwards the Gospel. Between these two works, whatever their difference, there is one great connecting link, the doctrine of the Logos. In the Apocalypse this is put forward as a new and mysterious revelation. The rider on the white horse, Faithful and True, who judges and makes war in righteousness, has a name written that no man knew but He himself. . . . "and His name is called the Word of God."⁴ The solemnity with which this revelation is made marks its importance. At the same time in the Apocalypse its meaning is undeveloped; its further development is reserved for the Gospel. Taking this central point with the others which surround it, though

¹ *Apost. Zeitalt.*, pp. 531-558.

² *Ibid.*, p. 498.

³ *Vortrag*, p. 71: for a list of authorities for and against the traditional view see Holtzmann, *Einl.*, p. 476f. (ed. 2).

⁴ *Rev.* xix. 11-13.

the differences may be so great as to involve a difference of authorship, yet the affinity is also great enough to locate them in the same home and in the same school. The Gospel belongs to a later stage in its history. That is all.

By keeping upon these lines, the writers I have mentioned desert the ecclesiastical tradition as little as possible. They only carry down the Gospel a little lower in the stream of time; they make it a work of the second and not of the first generation; and they obtain room in it for a greater freedom of handling.

I think we may say that if the Fourth Gospel is not by St. John, then distinctly next, in order of probability, is this theory of Weizsäcker's, very much in the form in which Weizsäcker has stated it. It seems to me however that even this theory is incompatible with the facts. It fails to satisfy the conditions which our previous inquiry has laid down. The arguments on which we have hitherto relied, and which have indeed a very great mass of detail behind them, prove, if they prove anything, that the author of the Gospel himself was a Jew, a Jew of Palestine, a contemporary, an eye-witness, an Apostle. Their force is not met by the supposition that some Gentile or even Jewish Christian of Ephesus made use a generation later of knowledge derived at second-hand from one who possessed these qualifications. For the striking thing about the Gospel is that its characteristics are not those of a second-hand work. The kind of details which it contains is not such as would survive in a tradition. What tradition could do we see in the Synoptic Gospels, especially in St. Mark. There we have tradition seen to great advantage—jottings from the occasional teaching of a leading actor in the events—St. Peter, *ὃς πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐποιεῖτο τὰς διδασκαλίας*. Accordingly we find a good and faithful report of a number of incidents in the life of our Lord, dialogues, sayings, brief discourses, parables. But the setting in which all this is

placed is loose and vague ; notes of time and place are very indistinct ; some expression of surprise and emotion on the part of the speaker is almost the only transient and subordinate detail that is noted. The Fourth Gospel, on the other hand, is full of these accessories. The scenes there described are such as the author has clearly and vividly presented before him. Two alternatives only are possible. Either these scenes derive their vividness and particularity from the fact that the author is reporting what he had himself heard and seen, or in which he had stood in connexion so close that it is as if he had heard and seen them, or they are the product of pure imagination. A middle link, like tradition, does not help us. The author might as well be six generations removed as one. For instance, we can understand how tradition might hand down the five barley loaves and two small fishes, the two hundred denarii worth of bread, the five thousand people and the twelve baskets of fragments of the miracle of healing, because all these have a direct bearing on the magnitude of the miracle. We can understand even the six water-pots of stone at the marriage feast, because the water-pots at least were essential, and that might cause their number to be remembered and transmitted. These are all details of the same type as those in the Synoptics. But why should it be noted that it was the tenth hour when the disciples left John to follow Jesus, or the sixth hour when He sat down by the well ? Why should we be told that John baptized in Ænon because of its plentiful springs ? Why that such and such a speech was made in Solomon's porch at the feast of dedication in the winter ? Why that Jesus retired to the place where John at first baptized ? or that He went to Ephraim while the Jews were going up to purify themselves before the Passover ? Why that the Sanhedrists would not enter Pilate's house for fear of defilement ? or that the purpose with which

Judas was supposed to have made his exit was to buy necessaries for the feast?

It would be instructive to work out continuously some of the ideas which these passages suggest—all of a character which in the second century, when the primitive entanglement of Christianity and Judaism had been forgotten, and when Judaism itself had changed its complexion through the fall of Jerusalem, would have lost their interest. Take for instance an idea like that of Levitical purity. What had Christians of the second century to do with that? Can we believe that allusions to it would have been preserved in passing from mouth to mouth? Yet first we have the waterpots at Cana; then the dispute between the disciples of John and a Jew (in the correct text) on some question of purification—naturally arising, as we might suppose, out of the practice of baptism; then we have that singular touch, the mustering of the pilgrims in the country before the Passover, that they might go up to Jerusalem in good time and get their purification over (*ἵνα ἀγλίσωσιν ἑαυτούς*);¹ and lastly, the scrupulous avoidance of defilement by the Sanhedrists.

Or take another set of points, which would also have passed out of remembrance—the baptism of John, not in its relation to any possible survival, like that of Apollos and the disciples at Ephesus, but in its relation to the Jewish conception of Messiah—the necessity of an Elias-ministry and of the moral reformation which it was to work before the Messiah could come. Hence such verses as “Why baptizest thou them if thou art not the Christ, neither Elijah, neither the prophet?” Or “but that He should be made manifest to Israel, therefore am I come baptizing with water.” Would a second-century tradition, even that of a disciple, have preserved touches like these?

Many similar points might be taken—the Jewish sects

¹ St. John xi. 55.

and parties, priests, Levites, Sanhedrists, Pharisees, the two high priests Annas and Caiaphas, all in their mutual relations delicately and accurately delineated; the Jewish feasts in regard to which the Evangelist mentions so many characteristic particulars—all, be it remembered, belonging to a state of things which had entirely passed away.

We have already seen how consistently the Gospel maintains the standpoint of the first disciples; how it repeats the kind of thoughts which would actually pass through their minds; how it describes the debates and discussions and controversies which went on around them. We can see that those debates and controversies were exactly such as must have gone on, and yet what we can see must have been by no means so obvious to a Christian in the second century. All that we know of early literature, Christian or pagan, leaves it, I cannot but think, in a high degree improbable that so consistent a picture could have been painted out of pure invention. There would inevitably have been far more serious flaws to be found than any which criticism has discovered.

This is my first reason for not being content to refer the phenomena of the Gospel simply to tradition. They include a number of points which tradition would not have preserved. My second reason is that tradition would almost necessarily be a series of fragments, as the Synoptic Gospels are. In St. John it is true that we have a selection of narratives, but it is a selection taken from a continuous history. They are strung, so to speak, upon a single thread. We feel that there is a duly articulated history, precisely mapped out both in time and place, lying behind them. In the one case the narrator looks back over the scene as a whole, and selects what incidents he pleases out of it; in the other case the narrator has no such survey, no such command of his materials, but must needs put together the incidents as they come to him, as

best he can. This means that in the one case there is, and in the other case there is not direct personal contact with the facts.

Thirdly, when we look at the Gospel we see that it is not the product of a dry intellectual light. It palpitates throughout with warm emotion. The keynote of it is love: first the love of the Master for the disciple calling forth the love of the disciple for the Master, and then that love implanted as a principle of the Christian life, and become the dominant motive which binds one Christian to another. Where was all this emotion generated? It is by far the most natural to attribute it to the relation in which the author of the Gospel stood to his subject. A personal feeling like this is not easily transmitted. That St. John, the beloved disciple, should be animated by it is just what we should expect. That an unnamed disciple in the second century who had not "seen Christ in the flesh" should be as impressible, is less likely. I speak here only of competing probabilities.

Weighing these probabilities side by side, they are to my mind irresistibly in favour of the direct apostolic authorship. Let us think, by way of recapitulation, what the problem demands. It demands one who is firmly planted at the point of view of the immediate disciples of Jesus; one who looked at things as they looked at them; who was familiar with the expectation which they entertained and which those around them entertained before they came to recognise Jesus as the Messiah; one apparently taken from the very *entourage* of the Baptist; one who treads with a sure step among all the intricate conditions of the time; one who is at home in all the scenes and places and customs and ways of thought of Palestine when Christ lived; one who has caught truly the main lines of Christ's teaching; who understands the relation in which He stood to the Old Testament, based upon it and yet exercising

command over it, mingling the old and new in that wonderful way and with that wonderful balance which the first generation of Christians possessed, and which their successors seemed so soon to lose. We must think of the author as one who stood directly under the influence, the close personal influence, of Jesus, who took in deep draughts from that "living water," and who, if he in after life sought to impart to others something of the impression which he had himself received, did so not so much through any process of intellectual speculation as through strong and deeply stirred emotion wrought into the inner self by years of vitally realized religious experience.

We cannot wonder if a mind like this, not discursive but concentrated, not given to wandering over a wide field of impressions, but content with a few of singular power and intensity, and letting these sink into it as far as ever they would go, should yet, as the Church moved on, let itself move with it, applying its own great ruling principles to the progressive phases of the Church's history, and to a certain extent interpreting those principles by the teaching of fact and by their practical realization. We cannot wonder if in this way, when the time came to give out as well as to drink in, there should be some infusion of all this later reflexion and experience with the original material of objective fact. We are dealing with a strong, creative personality which could not help acting upon the deposit committed to it, not a mere neutral medium through which it might pass without alteration. A smaller nature might have reproduced its first impressions more exactly; a more flexible and many-sided nature would have had a weaker or less tenacious grip upon them; but a mind like this acts powerfully in proportion as it acts slowly, and transmutes what it retains the more surely, because the lines on which it works are not many but few.

At the same time all the phenomena that are characteristic of the Fourth Gospel may be got well within the compass of the time assigned to the life of the Apostle John. May be, and indeed *must* be. As to the possibility there can be no question. It is a simple rule of proportion. If the Epistles to Corinthians and Romans could be reached by the years 57, 58; if Philippians by the year 61; if Hebrews by about 68 or 69;¹ then certainly the Fourth Gospel could be reached some fifteen or twenty years later. And on the other hand we have seen that it cannot be cut loose from the apostolic age and from immediate contact with the life of Christ. Those are the limits within which the Gospel ranges. The *terminus a quo* is not the schooling of a second generation, but the living experience of the first; the *terminus ad quem* is not the region of Gnosticism or Montanism, but the seed-plot out of which those developments grew as more or less abnormal growths. It is the first generation in its fullest extent, the richest generation which the world has ever seen.

There have been great ages, "spacious times," up and down the world's career—the age of Pericles, the age of Augustus, the years which date from the Hegira of Mahomet or from the Fall of Constantinople, the outburst of genius and national life under our own Queen Elizabeth. But in internal significance, if not in external splendour, there is no age to compare with that which began in the fifteenth year of Tiberius with a set of obscure events in an obscure corner of Judæa, and which came to its close with the death of the last apostle, St. John.

W. SANDAY.

¹ I do not pledge myself absolutely to this date, though I think it on the whole probable: in any case the Epistle was written during the lifetime of Timothy (Heb. xiii. 28), and well before the date at which it is quoted by Clement of Rome. This one fact seems to me to be a landmark of great importance in the history of Christian doctrine.

SURVEY OF RECENT ENGLISH LITERATURE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

INTRODUCTION.—Among recent works in the department of Introduction none will be more highly prized than the volume issued by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton on *The Fourth Gospel, Evidences External and Internal of its Johannean Authorship*, by Ezra Abbot, D.D., Andrew P. Peabody, D.D., and J. B. Lightfoot, D.D. Dr. Peabody edits the volume, and contributes a sensible and acute essay, in which perhaps the freshest paragraph is that in which he depicts the characteristics of an old man's memory. The other essays comprised in the volume are well known, and on that account will be all the more cordially welcomed. Dr. Abbot's contribution, which has already appeared both as a separate publication and in the author's *Critical Essays*, is the best memorial which that eminent and admirable scholar has left. In some of his minor papers his Unitarian creed may unconsciously have biassed his judgment. But in this essay, in which he has put it beyond question that in the time of Justin the Fourth Gospel was generally received as the work of the Apostle John, his Unitarian creed only serves to illustrate his impartiality, and to strengthen the reader's assurance of the soundness of his results. Certainly no more thorough piece of work has ever been contributed to the settlement of this great question. Of Dr. Lightfoot's essay, which originally appeared in this magazine, little need be said. It is worthy of its author, and sets some points of the internal evidence in a striking light.

Many will be grateful to the trustees of the Lightfoot Fund for reprinting the late Bishop of Durham's volume *On a Fresh Revision of the English New Testament* (Macmillan & Co.). The Revision of the New Testament is indeed a thing of the past—in some respects too much so—but much of the literature it evoked has permanent value, and unquestionably it would be a loss to the student of the New Testament were Bishop Lightfoot's contributions to revision allowed to remain out of print. No doubt a large number of the suggestions made in this volume have been embodied in the Revised Version, but it is instructive to see the reasons for the alterations made, and these reasons are in general here given. The volume is indeed a most useful appendix to the lexicon and

grammar, and should lie near the hand of the student. We trust that the author's somewhat desponding view of the prospects of Greek scholarship in England may be falsified. He is of opinion that Greek scholarship never stood higher in England than it now does, but that other branches of learning are likely from this time onwards to make their claims heard to the detriment of classical study. He seems also to have formed the opinion, judging from the fortunes of the Vulgate and of the Authorized Version, that the Revised Version might not at once be received into favour. In calculating the chances of the popular reception and universal use of the Revised Version it must be borne in mind that its predecessor has held the field for 250 years, and has tinged the literature of the last two centuries with its phraseology. But whether the Revised Version is destined to win popular acceptance or not, it must remain as the best help English-reading people have to the understanding of what the writers of the New Testament actually wrote.

Dr. T. K. Abbott, of Dublin University, has collected into a volume, and published through Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co., eight *Essays chiefly on the Original Texts of the Old and New Testaments*. One of these, on New Testament Lexicography, is intended as a correction of some statements made by Dr. Hatch in his *Essays on Biblical Greek*; while another, on the Language of Galilee in the Time of Christ, criticises Dr. Neubauer's paper on the same subject in the *Studia Biblica*. Both these papers are written in a very spirited manner, and are based on exact scholarship and careful research. In the former, while most of the criticism is sound, there is perhaps a tendency to underrate the value of the Septuagint as an aid to the New Testament lexicographer. Nothing however could be more helpful to students than that Dr. Abbott should continue research for which this essay proves him to be unusually competent and exceptionally equipped, and furnish us with what is so urgently needed as a complete exposition of the relation of the lexicography of the Septuagint to that of the New Testament. The tribute he pays to Prof. Thayer and Dr. Field is in each case thoroughly deserved. It is their work which marks the advance made in this department of study during the last generation. Dr. Abbott's answer to the question, "To what extent was Greek the language of Galilee in the time of Christ?" is that Greek was very generally spoken, that the Apostles were

able to speak Greek fluently and to write it, and that it is not likely they had equal command over any other language. This conclusion, in so far as it affirms a general knowledge of Greek, will probably be accepted; and the arguments by which Dr. Abbott seeks to establish it are convincing and, if not always new, freshly put. But he underrates the likelihood of men in the circumstances of the Apostles being bilingual. Had he written in Scotland instead of in Ireland, he would probably have come to a different conclusion, and allowed them a knowledge of Aramaic as well. However, we have nothing better than this essay on the point; and the whole volume is one of considerable importance.

A very useful handbook on *The Epistles of the Apostle Paul* has been drawn up by Professor Findlay, of Headingley College, and is published by C. H. Kelly. It forms one of a series of "Books for Bible Students," and is admirably adapted for its purpose. "It seeks to weave the epistles together into an historical unity, to trace out the life that pervades them, alike in its internal elements and external movements and surroundings; and to do this in a volume of small compass and free from technical detail and phraseology." It thus occupies a place of its own, and it occupies it well. Professor Findlay, in his perfect commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, has given proof of his competency to handle Pauline doctrine, and here he utilizes his great knowledge for the use of beginners; and while his volume does not supersede or rival that of Sabatier, it will prove a more convenient text book, and in some respects a better introduction to the Pauline writings. We trust he may some day give us an introduction to the Epistles as full and thorough as his contribution on the Pastoral Epistles.—A *Harmony of the Gospels*, arranged by C. C. James, M.A., Rector of Wortham (Cambridge University Press), may not have great critical value, but is very convenient for English readers, and may be expected to help forward the study of the Gospels.

Whatever comes from the pen of the Bishop of Derry and Raphoe is welcome. We know that we shall find sympathetic intelligence, devout feeling, fancy, and graceful English in whatever bears his signature. These qualities abundantly appear in *The Leading Ideas of the Gospels*, which he has recently published with Messrs. Macmillan & Co. This is a revision of a volume published twenty years ago, but, as the author says in the preface,

it is virtually a *new book*. The aim of the writer is to aid us in apprehending the distinctive characteristics of each Gospel. In doing so he has occasion to make many observations which are apt to escape the notice of a reader, and from time to time his remarks go deeply into the substance of the narratives. These remarks are often weighty, as when he touches upon the similarity of the style of the Apostle John to that of Jesus. The whole volume is at once delightful reading and permanently instructive; a volume to read and re-read and keep beside one.

EXPOSITION.—In Exposition there is not much to record. To the Cambridge Greek Testament there has been added a volume on *The Second Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians*, by the Rev. J. J. Lias, M.A., Emmanuel College, Cambridge. This is a carefully executed piece of work. For linguistic purposes it is perhaps scarcely up to the high standard set in Mr. Carr's *Matthew*, but the interest attaching to many of the Apostle's words is effectively exhibited. In every chapter there is evidence of the advantage arising from putting work of this kind into the hands of well-read theologians and accurate scholars. In Mr. Lias' work, the intelligent reader will soon be aware that underneath the smooth surface there is a strongly built substructure of intelligent inquiry.—From Melbourne (Petherick & Co.) come notes on the first eight chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, by John W. Owen, B.A. (Oxon). Mr. Owen names his volume, somewhat indefinitely, *The Common Salvation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ*. The notes follow the lines laid down by the late Canon Liddon in lectures given to Oxford undergraduates. In his interpretation of the epistle Mr. Owen shows himself to be a proficient Pauline student, and although not very attractive in form, the commentary here furnished will afford substantial assistance to the reader of this epistle.—*The Redemption of the Body*, by William Fitzhugh Whitehouse, M.A. (Elliot Stock) is an attempt to show that in Romans viii. 18-23 the word *κτίσις* means the human creature, an interpretation which seems to introduce more difficulty than it removes.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Professor Milligan has published with Messrs. Macmillan & Co. his Baird Lectures for 1891 on *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord*. They are intended to form a sequel to his well-known and valued lectures on the Resurrection of our Lord, and in themselves they are no inconsiderable contri-

bution to Biblical Theology. Dr. Milligan discusses the various questions which have been raised regarding our Lord's priesthood, its nature and its functions, the date of its commencement and the place of its ministry, its results and its reproduction in His people. For ordinary readers the volume may be found somewhat too technical—although there are passages of felicitously expressed Christian truth which it is a pity any readers should miss—but those whose thoughts about religion are moulded by Biblical forms will find in it a great deal that is both fresh and true. It might indeed be difficult to name any discussion of the priesthood of Christ which is so full and satisfactory. Necessarily the Epistle to the Hebrews is much referred to, and frequently with useful hints of interpretation. Dr. Milligan's interpretations cannot indeed be uniformly accepted, and sometimes he seems to exaggerate the difference between the view he proposes and that which has previously been held by Biblical scholars. In regard to the question regarding the time at which our Lord's priesthood began, Dr. Davidson's note in his *Commentary on the Hebrews* will be found a safer guide than Dr. Milligan's remarks; and his theory of atonement is not sufficiently justified, and if not contradicted by Old Testament ritual is irreconcilable with the language of St. Paul.

From Messrs. Macmillan & Co. we have received three volumes of their reprints of Archdeacon Farrar's minor works. Of these we can most cordially and unreservedly recommend *The Witness of History to Christ*, the Hulsean lectures for the year 1870. Dr. Farrar has written many valuable books, but his omnivorous reading and clear perception of what is vital in Christianity were never used to better purpose than in this small volume. The brief criticism which is here given of various theories of the origin of our religion may not satisfy the inquirer who is steeped in Hegelianism, but it directly and strongly appeals to the average educated man. The intelligence and the spirit with which the whole volume is written are worthy of all praise. Even older than this is the volume of sermons entitled *The Fall of Man*, preached before the University of Cambridge and first published in 1868. The shyness of publication revealed in the preface is amusing in the light of Dr. Farrar's subsequent prodigality. For our own part we prefer this first venture to any of his more recent sermons, eloquent as these undoubtedly are. And then we have the

thirtieth thousand of *Eternal Hope*, a volume which can neither be aided by approval nor checked in its circulation by disapproval. Whether approved or disapproved, it must be read. To this latest edition the author has prefixed an explanatory and self-defensive note. It seems that it has come to Dr. Farrar's ears that since this volume was first published in 1878 he has changed his views regarding the important matter of which it treats. This he denies. The preface also contains two interesting letters from the late Dr. Pusey. In one of these the following words occur: "If I had time, I would have re-written my book, and would have said, 'You seem to deny nothing which I believe. You do not deny the eternal punishment of "souls obstinately hard and finally impenitent." I believe the eternal punishment of no other. Who they are, God alone knows.'" In the other letter Pusey makes two strong points against Dr. Farrar. The effect of the volume is lessened and the reading of it is made somewhat painful by the extreme warmth with which the author expresses himself, a warmth which, considering the subject, may be considered legitimate and even commendable, but seems at times to betray him into exaggeration of statement. The orthodox position is depicted from the language of extremists such as Spurgeon. Dr. Farrar's own belief is that the fate of man is not finally sealed at death. He believes neither in conditional immortality nor in universal restoration, but in a purifying Gehenna. His remarks both upon Jewish opinion in the time of Christ and upon the meaning of the words used by our Lord are in our opinion misleading. And every one who reads Dr. Farrar's volume should read as a counteractive the articles recently published in this magazine by Professor Beet and others.—Among reprints by the same publishing house, may also be mentioned *Lincoln's Inn Sermons*, by Frederick Denison Maurice. Six volumes of these will not seem too many for his disciples. For they do indeed stand entirely by themselves in sermon literature; and readers who are captivated by their originality and are sensitive to their fine spiritual aroma will not soon weary of so rare a treat as these volumes afford. Year by year the number of readers who can appreciate Maurice is increasing, and there was so much in his sermons of permanent truth and so little that was due to the thought or mannerism of a period that it is quite possible they may now have a larger circulation than ever. Certainly nothing could be a healthier sign of

vanish. St. John, as in every other instance where he traverses the synoptic chronology, is seen to be right. He probably was acquainted with St. Mark's record in oral or written form, and when St. Mark and the other witnesses were dead, took this means of correcting from his personal recollections the imperfections of their chronology.

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FIDES DIVINA ET FIDES HUMANA ;

OR, FAITH ACCORDING TO CHRIST.

WORDS are at best symbols, the paper currency of human thought. It is surely well, then, to pause from time to time and set about realizing our actual moral and spiritual wealth, by "converting" current terms into valid ideas. The task is never an easy, and seldom a pleasant one. Yet it is the very condition of true progress towards the truth, which not only sets free, but also must one day unite in conscious harmony brethren as yet estranged in mind. For as we are often reminded, half the controversies in our midst would cease with the definition of the terms employed. Accordingly the present study will seek to attain in a form suited to the spiritual sphere, which evades all strict definition, what will serve the practical ends of definition, as regards a term of decisive moment for religious thought. The term is "faith," with "truth" as its correlate.

But how avoid the vagueness and inconclusiveness of abstract discussion which oftenest leaves the disputants as far apart as ever? Definition ultimately rests upon an intuition or immediate experience, which determines thought and language, and yet can hardly be communicated to another in the ordinary course of argument. Each must hark back, then, to the real source of the other's thought, the intuition to which any idea must be capable of being reduced, on pain of forfeiting the right to pass current under a given term. In the present instance such a course

seems as easy as it is appropriate. For if there be one legitimate and essential meaning attaching to the term "faith," Christians at least, of every sort and condition, will on reflexion be ready to agree, that this must be the one which dwelt in the mind of Christ and underlay His ministry and its attitude to the soul of man. The question therefore is capable of a treatment primarily historical and exegetical. But it has seldom been so treated. At any rate, in this form, it may well be discussed afresh in THE EXPOSITOR.

I.

I do not here purpose giving a catalogue of all the passages in which the word *faith* and its congeners occur in the Gospels, examining the etymological meaning of the Hebrew and Greek forms, together with their mutual relations in Old Testament usage, as shown by the Septuagint and other versions, and so striving to fix the sense in which the Lord *must* have used the term. This has been done in lexicons already, to the satisfaction of the lexicographers at least; and undoubtedly it has its value in its own place. But it is at best an *à priori* method, and cannot do more than add a certain probability to results reached contextually. It has too its disadvantages. It tends to obscure or prejudice the "newness" of the gospel. And it is apt to become scholastic, making theologians cease to reflect just at the point where they ought rather to begin.

In contrast then to all that tends to engross attention upon the mere letter, to the neglect of the psychological aspect of the narrative—appreciation of which is dependent on a vivid and overmastering sense of the context—it seems best to focus our study upon one representative passage, regarded both in its narrower and wider context. By this I mean that we must realize, not only the immediate

historical situation, but also the general historical setting of Christ's ministry and its environment.

The passage referred to is John v. 30-47.¹ Here in strictness ver. 30 goes rather with what precedes (vers. 19-29), re-enforcing the thought underlying ver. 19, *viz.* that the secret of the Son's authority, whether in deed or word, is His perfect receptiveness towards the Father, to whom His inner eye is ever turned, His inward ear ever open. But the words, "Because I seek not My own will, but the will of Him that sent Me," supply a lesson as to the moral conditions of spiritual receptivity, which will prove of great moment when the question emerges, as to what determines predisposition to faith or the reverse.

In the earlier part of the chapter we are told how the Jews saw in Christ's analogy between His Father's continuous activity in the world, untrammelled by institutional restrictions, and His own freedom in beneficent and prophetic action, spite of Sabbath-day usages, a blasphemously individual claim to the relation of sonship (*πατέρα ἴδιον ἔλεγε τὸν Θεόν*), whereby He "made Himself equal with God" (*ἴσον ἑαυτὸν ποιῶν τῷ Θεῷ*). Their charge Jesus met by correcting their crude notion that rivalry was inherent in the sonship which His words implied, in signalling perfection of *dependent receptiveness* as the unique quality which made His action the analogue of the Father's. This done, He is free to pass on to justify His personal "witness" by witness other than that of His own subjective consciousness; for, on this occasion, nothing but independent evidence will suffice to convince them that

¹ Without going into the Johannine question as a whole (on which, see Professor Sanday's articles now appearing in *THE EXPOSITOR*), it is enough here to remark that, taking the passage on its own merits, it commends itself as authentic, at least in such a sense as to justify the use here made of it. On this point one is glad to be able to refer to Dr. Wendt's judgment as to its organic unity with Synoptic passages of the first weight (*Der Inhalt der Lehre Jesu*, pp. 451 ff).

one who had just openly ignored their Sabbath could be sent of God. Accordingly, Christ is confined to witness which is *ad hominem*, while still valid. Yet in this too there are degrees of value. For here emerges that remarkable reserve, in acknowledging rather than appealing to human attestation, which explains the wording of our title, and merits closer attention.

The thought underlying the abrupt turns and transitions which abound in our evangelist, plainly seems to be as follows. Self-witness apart, there is One to whose witness confident appeal is made by Jesus Himself. Lest then the Jews should imagine that the Forerunner was thereby intended, he adds: "Ye yourselves (ὁμοῖς) have sent embassy to John, and he has given his witness to the truth. But as for Me (ἐγώ), the witness that I accept is not from man (οὐ παρὰ ἀνθρώπου τὴν μαρτυρίαν λαμβάνω); howbeit I refer to this (John's witness in answer to your inquiries), that ye may receive salvation (σωθῆτε, i.e. even on basis of trust in John's testimony rather than Mine or the Father's). He was indeed the lamp that burneth (καίόμενος) and shineth; and as for you, ye were glad to (ἐθελήσατε) exult, but with no seriousness, for a brief hour in his light.¹ But as for Me, the attestation which I have is greater than that supplied in John (μείζω τοῦ Ἰωάννου). For the works which the Father hath given Me to accomplish, those very works which I do testify concerning Me that it was the Father who sent Me. Ay, and the Father who sent Me, the same hath testified concerning Me (i.e. in the Scriptures,² mentioned in the next verse but one). Neither

¹ Wendt compares the changeful mood of the children in the market-place, ready to respond superficially to the influence of the hour. But Meyer remarks that "the main feature of the perverted desire does not lie in πρὸς ὥραν, . . . but in ἀγαλλιασθῆναι itself, instead of which μετάνοια should have been the object of their pursuit." "*Johanne utendum erat, non fruendum*" (Bengel).

² So Meyer and Wendt (i.e., p. 862, note), comparing also viii. 16-19.

voice of His have ye ever heard, nor form¹ of Him have ye seen; and so (καὶ . . . οὐ, instead of οὔτε), His word ye have not abiding in you, for He whom He commissioned (ἀπέστειλεν), Him ye do not believe. Ye search the Scriptures, because ye yourselves suppose that in them ye have life eternal; and these are they which testify concerning Me, and (yet) ye are not willing to come to Me, that ye may have life. Think not that this is the language of wounded self-love. Glory from men I accept not. But I know you, that the love of God—the very essence of your law (Mark xii. 28 ff.)—ye have not in your hearts. As for Me, I have come in My Father's name (representing Him and His glory), and ye accept Me not. If another shall come in his own name (with no such zeal for the Father), him ye will accept. How *can* men such as you (ὁμεῖς) believe, seeing that ye accept glory one of another, and as for the glory that cometh from the only God, ye seek it not? Suppose not that it is I, who will accuse you before the Father. Your accuser is Moses, upon whom yourselves have set your hope. For, if ye actually believed Moses,² ye would believe Me; for *he* (ἐκεῖνος) wrote concerning Me. If, however, ye believe not *his* writings, how shall ye believe My words?"

Here surely we have, so to speak, the *locus classicus* at once as to Christian evidences, and as to authority, so far as it can claim Christ's sanction, as being "witness" worthy of Christian "faith." It is threefold. First, the *ipse dixit* of a great man, regarded as sent of God, for the bare fact that Jesus of Nazareth is the Messiah, to whom

¹ Figurative language: compare our own "voice of God in conscience" and "vision" or "conception of God." The issue in either case is God's "word" in the heart, a relatively non-figurative expression.

² It is clear that the reference here cannot be to the mere promise of a Messiah in the Prophet of Deuteronomy xviii. 15. For it was not the *fact* of a Messiah being promised, as to which they were blind, but *His nature and characteristics*. And on this point it was the general drift of the Mosaic ideal to be realized in Messiah that they had missed (cf. Luke xvi. 29 ff.).

the prior revelation of God pointed: "He has come." Secondly, the witness supplied by the works of this Jesus, that He is indeed the Sent of God. Finally and most impressively, the witness of God, the Sender, represented as Himself testifying directly in the hearts of men, yet by means of the older Scriptures, that this is indeed His Son following on the "servants" already sent (Luke xx. 9 ff.): that this is Messiah, who unites fully and personally the attributes contained in the heart of those Scriptures. With the second aspect of the witness we are not now concerned. Suffice it to note its place in the organism of witness. There, and not otherwise, it has an important function to perform, though one necessarily varying in cogency with the opportunities enjoyed by an age or individual for assuring itself as to what is, in form, matter of history.¹ It is to the first and third, therefore, in their mutual relations, and to the "faith" answering to each, that we must address our inquiry.

If the view underlying our paraphrase be accepted, then we have two kinds of true witness contrasted: that wherein the source emphasised is man; and that in which it is God. The latter is superior, decisive, and is appealed to. The former is inferior, provisional, and is waived, though its useful function in the case of spiritual minors is incidentally recognised. The contrasted sources of witness are John and the Scriptures, *i.e.* a man and a "book." Why then is the one correlated with God, while the other, at least formally, is not so related? It is not enough to say that to the Jews the Scriptures were the word of God; while John, though equally from God, was to them at best an

¹ See Latham's *Pastor Pastorum*; or, *The Schooling of the Apostles by our Lord*, in which the "works" of Christ are put in their correct setting. I may add that the "works," particularly when taken in the large sense in which Christ here uses the term, are sensitive, as to their verisimilitude, to every fresh and deepened insight into the character of the Worker Himself. And this latter depends on the Father's witness.

object of doubt. This does not go to the root of the matter. The real difference is, that in reference to the book their religious *conscience* was essentially involved; while as to John, this was so only in a secondary sense. True, their conscience could not but recognise in John tokens of the prophet. Still not only did such derive what cogency they had from John's own conformity to scriptural ideals; but further, and more emphatically, even acceptance of Jesus as sent of God, on the strength of John's assertion, and apart from a sense of Christ's *quality* as thus sent, was at best a second-hand, mechanical sort of credence, and had the fatal defect of making the higher depend upon the lower, belief in the Lord upon belief of the servant.

How was it then as regards the attestation in the Scriptures? They, as we have seen, were ultimate norm for recognition of the Divine, as present in John. They would be so, therefore, in a higher degree, touching the One as to whom he had been wont to cite their witness. But in what sense? Not as mere written record; not even as record of the fact that Messiah should come. No, it is not upon the "is coming," but upon the "He," that the stress falls, in the scriptural undertone "He is coming." Now to enter into the character of the person, *spiritual insight* is requisite; and such, says Jesus, can come from God alone. This is God's witness, whereby His "voice" is heard echoing through the Scriptures, and His "form" is seen adumbrated under the various conceptions of the Divine character. This is His "word," the essence of His thought for man, in virtue of which alone any "Scripture-searching," however painstaking, can conduct to "eternal life" or have in fact any religious value. Moreover the apprehension of this "word" is vitally connected with the "love of God" in the heart, each being the condition for progress in the other.

Dropping now direct reference to the historical situation,

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we may say in general that it was this self-witness in the heart God creates and in a certain sense indwells as supreme authority, that the prophets of the Reformation, ere it passed into its scholastic stage, indicated by the *testimonium Spiritus sancti internum*; though the human vehicle conditioning His witness was now not so much the Old Testament as the New. The priesthood—that strangely changed “John” of the Middle Ages—had been testifying clearly enough that Christ, the Saviour of men, was come. But their testimony was one which made little or no appeal to actual Divine witness, and indeed supplied but little witness that befitted such august co-operation. But now with the New Testament, the Christ had been re-discovered, and the conditions for truly Divine attestation were at hand.

II.

But a vital question remains over for solution. Why do some recognise the witness of God in their heart to the Christ of the Bible, while others do not? In other words, what is the condition of the effectiveness of the Divine testimony, which, with Him “who is no respecter of persons,” must be the birthright of all alike? The answer is found in words of Christ, such as “he that hath ears to hear, let him hear”; “he that hath, to him shall be given” of aptitude to hear God’s voice in conscience; while as for him “that hath not (*i.e.* by appropriative obedience to what he *can* hear), from him shall be taken away that which he hath” (elsewhere “seemeth or thinketh (*δοκῆ*) to have”). This represents progress, and specifically progress into the present Messianic kingdom, as the outcome of a prior preparedness of heart. In its realization, initiative at any stage is of God who “gives”; while yet if man is to “have,” he must actively receive by loyalty to God’s whispered yet authoritative will. Thus there is

continuity in kind between the preparation and the issue, though the issue may often be of the nature of conscious crisis; and the kind in either case is primarily moral, though of that inner and intense quality called spiritual. For the process is that of the whole man, focussed in his will, with two ideal poles of movement, self and God. So that his state ultimately determines itself as self-centred (dead to God) and God-centred (dead to self; cf. "saving" or "gaining" life, and "losing" it). It is this and nothing else, that finds such searching expression in our evangelist. Jesus here goes behind the mere fact of non-belief upon Himself, and sees therein a moral inability, having its roots in a habit absolutely at variance with that underlying His own life, and implying an ideal of self-seeking in the subtle form of love of human applause, which negatives that of filially dependent intercourse with the Father, so manifest in Him.

"Faith," then, according to Christ, is vital trust, springing from at least latent moral or spiritual affinity. It is morally conditioned, and so contains an element of responsibility. This hint the evangelist, pained at heart by reason of the general unbelief of his countrymen the Jews, eagerly treasured up in his soul, and later on gave forth in the form of a sort of soliloquy, following on the unique summary of the gospel message to erring man (John iii. 16): "Ay, God so loved the world, that He *gave* His Son with saving intent. But ah! how few, even of the chosen people, have *received* Him by believing upon His name! Those judged seem to outnumber those justified, to wit, those brought to judgment, here and now, in repentance, and so ushered into a life on which, as such, judgment hath no longer effect (*οὐ κρίνεται*), "eternal life." What then is the principle of judgment latent in this message of love? What the basis of distinction? For at least God, who is love, must have no willing hand therein. That were to

deny Himself. It must be man's own suicidal act that works his ruin. Yet how? It was as the light that the Lord came unto men. And man was made to recognise and love the light, foregleams of whose presence had been in the world from the first—oft ignored, never fully comprehended, yet never quenched. But, alas! to "recognise" is not *per se* to "love." For what man loves, shapes in the end the deeds of man. And man has deeds far alien from the deeds of light: deeds that as done involve his sympathies, deeds that still he hopes to do. Such deeds, preferred as promising immediate gratification, bias the man's affections and will. For, after all, he must in certain sense love his own cause, however bad, just because it is his own. When then the light so shines as to make evasion vain, man can force himself to call light darkness, and trace its works to evil source. It was this the Master called sin against the Holy Spirit, the course which in the end quenches His rays in utter darkness. Yes, the light tests the deeds of each; laying bare their spring in self or in God, and judging all by secret affinity. For "like to like" is still the law that rules the soul. Faith after all is, in one respect, but reaction of the human spirit to stimulus from God. Where response has been as it should be, there may come yet higher things. Till the supreme crisis is reached, in which Christ is recognised and accepted as very Message of God, life of the soul, Saviour and Lord."¹

III.

Such would seem to be our evangelist's soliloquy as to the genesis of "faith" and its converse. Do we not need to ask ourselves seriously, whether this is really our root-

¹ John iii. 16-21. With this compare the Greek Apologists' doctrine of the λόγος σπέρματικός in men before Christ, making them "friends of Christ" by anticipation; as also Tertullian's "*anima naturaliter Christiana*."

idea in the matter ; whether after many ages we have entered into his thought, as distinct from his words, and made it our habit of mind in things of faith ? For after all, this seems to be the veritable thought of the Master Himself. Can it be wise, then, for us to suffer the emphasis of our thoughts and words as to faith, and the authority on which it must rest, to fall at all otherwise than fell the stress of His concern as to men's attitude ? Surely none of us can, least of all those who lay pre-eminent claim to the name evangelical. Happily, to-day no one school can or should claim for itself a monopoly of the effort to reflect the "gospel" of the Gospels. But at least it befits those who most emphasise this aim, which yet should lie clear before all, to spare no effort to pierce through the traditional form which a term so sensitive to the general attitude and outlook tends to assume in our instinctive thought ; and to ask what right "faith," in its current senses, has to be called the thing which Christ delighted to honour. The feeling cannot then be long resisted that here, at any rate, we are in sore need of a New Reformation, a reformation which shall do more thoroughly what the Old was too deeply involved in the past to do. We need to get face to face with the New Testament as authentic mirror of Christ, and from Him, and none less, to derive what is bound to determine all our thought on things of faith, the very notion of "faith" itself. "Faith" as an attitude of trust is definable through its object. In so far as that object has consisted, not so much in a Person, revealing in the form of man another Person, God His Father, as in an organized body of dogmas, to this degree the emphasis of "faith," as Christ sought and evoked it, has been lost, and its essence thereby altered. The soul, striving to realize it, is thrown into a different and far less simple attitude, one, also, far less indicative of its real character and moral sympathies. The result tends to be a seeming premium placed upon

mental and spiritual torpor. Not the man of truest conscience, but the man of most mindless acquiescence as to terms not half understood, inevitably becomes the average "man of faith," as we may see in the later use of the term "the faithful," *i.e.* those in whose mind the phrases of the creed excited no opposition. Surely this is but a negative virtue at best, and supplies in itself no guarantee that the "root of the matter" is in a man. Whereas, if faith, in its true Christian sense, be in a man, all that is necessary as to orthodoxy "shall be added" thereunto. Nor can we wonder that Christ Himself withheld the title of disciple from none who thus met Him with an open, childlike devotion, when we consider that it was just among those of least mental attainments (as contrasted with the reflexion which goes hand in hand with moral earnestness), that He sought and found believers in His gospel. Matthew xi. 25 ff. is here decisive, not only for the fact, but also as by anticipation precluding a plausible objection, often urged against anything like the use of such cases as precedents for all time. Conditions, it is said, change. Things become explicit which were once indeterminate, and obligation arises to submit to articles of faith, at least formally in excess of what was realized by the men whose faith Christ blessed. But surely there is confusion here. To realize such articles may be helpful, when one has the mind to achieve this. To deny them when understood may logically be fatal to true Christian faith, even of the primitive type. But, where conviction is lacking, to leave them in abeyance for the time—though earnest souls cannot be content to do so altogether and permanently—this, surely, cannot be construed as forfeiting a man's title to the Christian name. Our Lord's own interest lies in the fact that it is the Father who reveals the essential truth of His gospel, and that to "babes." The "truth," too, that is presented to their "faith," though vitally connected with a Person,

to whom they are called to stand in a certain unique relation of trust, is primarily truth as practical. It is "truth" of the kind that may be "done" (John iii. 21); truth that a man is to learn by becoming Christ's yokefellow. Accordingly, to use modern distinctions alien to the religious language of the gospels, the "truth" contemplated is moral rather than metaphysical. So then we must be content to admit that true "faith" is essentially compatible with no small indeterminateness as to certain philosophic questions as to how and why; that even as regards these, continuance in this attitude of loyalty may keep a man practically right; and that the *manner* in which truths are appropriated is the thing which, religiously speaking, is of value. Convictions as to speculative aspects of the life of faith should represent vital outgrowth of the spiritual life, whereby they become necessary parts of the soul's enlarging horizon.

IV.

It may be well, however, before closing, to bring to a head what has been said, by means of a concrete example. Peter's confession is a crucial case. Its historical setting should be carefully borne in mind. During a prolonged intercourse, Jesus had been careful not to force an artificial faith by explicit dogmatic utterances as to His own Person. In keeping with His general parabolic method, He had chosen rather to evoke, by suggestive word and deed, a living and spontaneous trust, such as by vital necessity finds itself gradually attaining a clearer consciousness as to the significance of His Person in relation to His ministry. And now He brings this faith to birth by a sudden personal question. "Thou art the Christ,"¹ ejaculates the apostle of

¹ That this is the essence of the confession is proved by the fact that it is the common element in the three forms in which the confession is found in the Synoptists (Mark viii. 29, Matt. xvi. 16 Luke ix. 20).

impulsive utterance. But how deep a preparation of heart has here its outcome, is shown, not only in the joyous emphasis of the Master's "Blessed art thou, Simon son of John; for flesh and blood revealed it not unto thee, but My Father who is in heaven"; but also in the glimpse we get in John's gospel of the inner experience which, on the human side, was therein implied. "Lord, to whom shall we go? Words of life eternal Thou hast; and we have believed (are 'convinced,' πεπιστεύκαμεν), and know (or 'recognise' = ἐγνώκαμεν, not οἶδαμεν) that Thou art the Holy One of God." "Depart from me: for I am a sinful man, O Lord," is not the goal, though it marks the start. "No man can (δύναται) come to Me, except it be given him of My Father," is the general account rendered of such "faith." Note this emphasis in its bearing on what follows the blessing. Thus the Rock will be *fides divina*, both subjective and objective, amid the shifting sands of human tradition and speculation, which enter so largely into the formation of the mere *fides humana*.¹ Doubtless such a view will appear arbitrary to some; to those especially whose eyes are rivetted immovably upon the related terms, Πέτρος and πέτρα, in the impressive turn of language attributed to the Master. But perhaps a deeper feeling for the pulse, as it were, of the context would see in Peter, spite of his impulsive nature, the typically loyal man, when steadied by the very fibre of another's rock-like immutability. While as to the Rock itself, the whole genius of the Christian system, as seen not only in the gospels, but also in the epistles, including that of Peter himself, cries out aloud against its being other than "the Christ of faith" en-

¹ For the formal definition of these terms, see Martensen's *Christian Dogmatics* (Introduction), and Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*, vol. i., in his section on "The Doctrine of Faith as the Postulate in the Cognition of Christianity as Truth."

shrined in human hearts, as here in Peter's.¹ It is His to bear the weight of the Church-kingdom, of which it can be truly said, "ubi Christus, ibi ecclesia." It was Peter's as key-bearer in a special sense, to formally open the gospel dispensation of the Spirit, as well as to define the conditions of entrance, as may be seen from the Acts.

There are one or two corollaries which seem to attach themselves naturally to the discussion now ended.

(a) It is certainly becoming increasingly difficult to believe in either Bible or Church, apart from their relation to the self-attesting Person of Christ, whose lineaments are enshrined in the former, and who is presupposed as the key to the riddles of both alike. But, on the other hand, it is becoming increasingly possible, through the greater precision and delicacy of the historical method, to get face to face with Jesus Christ. Accordingly the docile can gain a deeper insight than ever into Him who "bears witness to Himself" in satisfying the now deepened needs of men. Thus enabled, they can say, humbly but exultantly, to each of the vehicles which, amid the human imperfection of the "letter," yet direct men's eyes to Christ, "No longer is it on account of thy speech that we believe: for ourselves have heard and know that this is of a truth the Saviour of the world" (John iv. 42). Christ, as perfect, guarantees both Church and Bible, not *vice versa*. This is recognised by

¹ The references above made are to Matt. vii. 24 ff. ("My words"="a rock"), 1 Cor. iii. 10 ff. (Christ the one θεμελιον), and 1 Pet. ii. 4-6, where even the strange idea of stones constituted living by relation to a fundamental "living stone," seems to explain the relation between Πέτρος and πέτρα in Matthew. Lightfoot ("St. Peter in Rome," in his *Clement*, vol. ii. p. 487) remarks that "as a matter of exegesis, it seems to be more strictly explained not of Peter himself: for then he should expect ἐπὶ σοὶ rather than ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ." But when he proceeds to refer the promise to the historical inauguration of the Church on the basis of Peter's "constancy," we feel that this is to limit to a single historic fact the bearing of a principle which really expresses the process or condition of Christ's continuous building.

the best thinkers in all Churches. But greater emphasis on it in public is much to be desired.

(b) In arguing for such direct faith as the truly Christian faith, one is not extolling faith's primal rudimentariness as such. What is urged is that the sense of the immediate witness of God, as the *living* God, so present in conscience as to make His witness the supreme reality, is of vital religious import. And that in so far as this implies the necessity of a gradual growth in the fulness and clearness of the content of faith, which again implies initial vagueness, the gain outweighs the loss. This aspect of the subject has been admirably worked out by Mr. Latham, and so need not be dwelt on. That in its development such faith costs not a little, in the way of patience and self-discipline, may even be regarded as a watermark of its true quality.

Our subject so far has been one ideal of Christian faith as contrasted with another. But we cannot close without a reference to the bearing of "faith in Christ" according to Christ, upon an age of widespread doubt. This will help us to realize how rich and positive a possession such faith is. Broadly speaking then, while the world is becoming to us more rational, an old and inveterate problem is daily assuming a more acute form. This is the problem as to the relation of the physical and spiritual orders, viewed especially in its human and moral aspect. The validity of moral ideals is in question. Duty, freedom, immortality, are in doubt; and to this extent life is being paralysed. When men scrutinize the borderland between the material and the mental, faith in the spiritual waxes low. But when they dwell on the points at which the contrast is greatest, such faith tends to revive, and that in proportion to the spirituality of a man's own life and effort. Yet even with the best there are moments far below the ideal, when the flesh would, as it were, annex the spirit. At such times,

what a world of meaning and hope would lie in the assurance that One in our nature did once live free from bondage to the flesh, even in its sublimated forms, as befitted One from above, who yet represented the true destiny of His fellows. But has such really been? "Come and see," reply the gospels: "come with your deepened sense that He who could live a perfect life amid imperfect, earthy men, must be superhuman, supernatural, not from below, but from above." If then men come, and read His life through their own inmost consciences, and find Him like as man, yet as the Perfect all unlike, what may be the issue? May they not ask Him, saying, "Perfect in life, august yet humble, what hast Thou out of the perfect mirror of Thy heart to tell us of Thy Source, Thy Whence"? And He make answer: "From the Father, from My Father and your Father; I know My Whence and Whither." And may not His self-witness, which yet is of Another, convince the earnest heart and kindle "faith" that shall brighten to the perfect day?

VERNON BARTLET.

THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE HOLY LAND.

IV. JUDÆA.

HAVING gone round about Judæa, and marked well her bulwarks,¹ we may now draw some conclusions as to the exact measure of her strength. Judæa has been called impregnable, but, as we must have seen, the adjective exaggerates. To the north she has no frontier; her southern border offers but few obstacles after the desert is passed; with all their difficulties, her eastern and western walls

¹ EXPOSITOR for April. The Central Range and the Borders of Judæa.

have been carried again and again; and even the dry and intricate wilderness, to which her defenders have more than once retired, has been rifled to its furthest recesses. Judæa, in fact, has been overrun as often as England.

And yet, like England, Judæa, though not impregnable, has all the advantages of insularity. It is singular how much of an island this inland province really is. With the gulf of the Arabah to the east, with the desert to the south, and lifted high and unattractive above the line of traffic that sweeps past her on the west, Judæa is separated as much as by water from the two great continents, to both of which she otherwise belongs. So open at many points, the land is yet sufficiently unpromising and sufficiently remote to keep unprovoked foreigners away. Thus Judæa was designed to produce in her inhabitants the sense of seclusion and security, though not to such a degree as to relieve them from the attractions of the great world, which throbbed closely past, or to relax in them those habits of discipline, vigilance and valour, which are the necessary elements of a nation's character. In the position of Judæa there was not enough to tempt her people to put their confidence in herself; but there was enough to encourage them to the defence of their freedom and a strenuous life.¹ And while the isolation of their land was sufficient to confirm the truth of their calling to a discipline and a destiny, separate from other peoples, it was not so complete as to keep them in barbarian ignorance of the great world, or to release them from those temptations to mix with the world, in meeting which their discipline and their destiny could alone be realised.

All this receives exact illustration from both Psalmists and Prophets. They may rejoice in the fertility of their

¹ In the *Least of all Lands*, Principal Miller has some very valuable remarks upon the influence of the physical geography of Palestine upon the character of the people.

land, but they never boast of its strength. On the contrary, of the real measure of the latter they show a singularly sagacious appreciation. Thus, Isaiah's fervid faith in Zion's inviolableness does not blind him to the openness of Judah's northern entrance: it is in one of his passages of warmest exultation about Zion that he describes the easy advance of the Assyrian to her walls.¹ Both he and other prophets frequently recognise how swiftly the great military Powers will overrun Judah; and when they except Jerusalem from the consequences, it is not because of her natural strength, but by their faith in the direct intervention of God Himself. So at last it happened. In the great crisis of her history, the invasion by Sennacherib, Judah was saved, as England was saved from the Armada, neither by the strength of her bulwarks, for they had all been burst, nor by the valour of her men, for the heart had gone from them, but because, apart from human help, God Himself crushed her insolent foes in the moment of their triumph.² The most concise expression of this is found in the forty-eighth Psalm, where, though *beautiful for situation is Mount Zion in the sides of the north*,³ and *established for ever*, it is God Himself who *is known in her palaces for a refuge*; and when the writer has *walked about Zion and gone round about her, and told the towers thereof, marked well her bulwarks and considered her palaces*, it is yet not in all these that he triumphs, but this is the result of his survey: *this God is our God for ever and ever, He will be our Guide even unto death*. Judah was not impregnable, but she was better—she was in charge of an invincible Providence.

With their admission of the weakness of Judah's position, there runs through the prophets an appreciation of her unattractiveness, and that leads them, and especially Isaiah,

¹ Isaiah x. 32. See EXPOSITOR for April, p. 316.

² 2 Kings xviii., xix.; Isaiah xxxiii., xxxvii.

³ Probably a phrase for the sacredness and inviolableness of its site.

to insist that under God her security lies in this and in her people's contentment with this. Though they recognise how vulnerable the land is, the prophets maintain that she will be left alone if her people are quiet upon her, and if her statesmen avoid intrigue with the great foreign powers. To the kings of Israel, to Ahaz, to Hezekiah's counsellors, to Josiah, the same warnings are given: ¹ *Asshur shall not save us: we will not ride upon horses.* ² *Woe to them that go down to Egypt for help, and stay on horses and trust in chariots. In returning and rest shall ye be saved: in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength.* ³

Thus we see how the physical geography of Palestine not only makes clear such subordinate things as the campaigns and migrations of the Old Testament, but signalises the providence of God, the doctrine of His prophets, and the character He demanded from His people. It was a great lesson the Spirit taught Israel, that no people dwells secure apart from God, from character, from commonsense. But the land was the illustration and enforcement of this lesson. Judæa proved, but did not exhaust, nor tempt men to feel that she exhausted, the will and power of God for their salvation. As the writer of the Hundred and Twenty-first Psalm feels, her hills were not the answer to, but the provocation of, the question, *Whence cometh my help?* and Jehovah Himself was the answer. As for her prophets, a great part of their sagacity is but the true appreciation of her position. And as for the character of her people, while she gave them room to be free and to worship God, and offered no inducement to them to put herself in His place, she did not wholly shut them off from danger or temptation, for without danger and temptation it is impossible that a nation's character should be strong.

¹ Ahaz, cf. 2 Kings xvi. with Isaiah vii.

² Hosea xiv. 3, cf. xii. 1.

³ Isaiah xxxi. 1, xxx. 15.

From the borders and bulwarks of Judæa we pass to survey the plateau in which the main part of her consists. This plateau, as I have already said, is little more than thirty-five miles long, reckoning from Bethel to the group of cities south of Hebron—Carmel, Maon, Eshtemoh, Juttah, Zanoah, and Kiriath-sepher. The breadth varies from fourteen to seventeen miles, reckoning from the western edge of the plateau above the valley which separates it from the Shephelah, to where on the east the level drops below 1,700 feet and into desert.

A large part of this plateau consists of level moors, treeless and stony, upon which rough scrub and thistle, reinforced by a few dwarf oaks, contend with multitudes of boulders, and the limestone, as if impatient of the thin pretence of soil, breaks out into bare scalps and prominences. Some patches there are of cultivation, but though the grain springs bravely from them, they seem more beds of shingle than of soil. The only other signs of life, besides the wild bee, are flocks of sheep, or goats, or a few cattle, cropping far apart in melancholy proof of the scantiness of the herbage. There is no water: no tarns breaking into streams enliven the landscape as upon even the most desolate moors of our north, but at noon the cattle go down by dusty paths to some silent cistern within the glaring walls of a gorge. Where the plateau rolls, the shadeless slopes are for the most part divided between brown scrub and grey rock; the hollows are stony fields traversed by torrent beds of dirty boulders and gashed clay. Where the plateau breaks into ridge and glen, the ridge is often crowned by a village, the greystone walls and mud roofs looking from the distance like a mere outcrop of the rock; yet round them, or below in the glen, there will be olive-groves, figs and perhaps a few terraces of vines. Some of these breaks in the tableland are very rich in vegetation, as at Bethany, the Valley of Hinnom, the Gardens of Solomon, and other spots round

Bethlehem, and especially in the neighbourhood of Hebron, the famous Vale of Eshcol, or "the Vine Cluster." There, indeed, are verdure and shade as much as heart could wish. With these exceptions to the general character of the hill-country of Judæa, goes another of a different kind. Between Hebron and the wilderness there are nine miles by three of plateau, where Maon, Ziph and the Judæan Carmel stood, where David hid himself in the *thicket*¹ and the farms of Nabal lay.² Here the soil is almost free from stones, and the red and green fields, broken by a few heathy mounds, might be a scene of upland agriculture in our own country.

But the prevailing impression of Judæa is of stone—the dry torrent beds, the paths as stony, the heaps and dykes of stones gathered from the fields, the fields as stony still, the moors strewn with boulders, the obtrusive scalps and ribs of the hills. In the more desolate parts, which had otherwise been covered by scrub, this impression is increased by the ruins of ancient cultivation—cairns, terrace-walls, and vineyard towers.

Now if you add to this bareness two other deficiencies of feature, you complete that dreariness which so many bring away as their chief memory of Judæa. On all her stony tableland the only gleams of water are the few pools at Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Hebron; and I do not suppose that from Beersheba to Bethel there are more than six or seven tiny rills. There is no lake, river, or cascade. No water to soothe the eye, there are also no great hills to lift it. There is no edge or character upon the horizon. From the western boundary of the plateau, of course, you see the blue ocean with its border of broken gold, and from the eastern boundary the Moab Hills, that change their colours all day long above the changeless blue of the Dead Sea. But in the centre of the hill country, there is nothing to

¹ 1 Sam. xxiii. 15.

² Id. xxiv.

look to past the featureless roll of the moorland, and the low blunt hills with the flat-roofed villages upon them.

Was the land always like this? For answer, we have three portraits of ancient Judah. The first is perhaps the most voluptuous picture in the Old Testament.¹

*Binding to the vine his foal
And to the choice vine his ass's colt,
He hath washed in wine his raiment,
And in the blood of the grape his vesture :
—Heavy in the eyes from wine,
And white of teeth from milk.*

This might be the portrait of a Bacchus breaking from the vineyards of Sicily; but of Judah we can scarcely believe it, as we stand in his land to-day. And yet on those long, dry slopes with their ruined terraces—no barer after all than the banks of the Rhine in early spring—and in the rich glens around Hebron and Bethlehem, where the vine has been restored, we perceive still the possibilities of such a portrait. *Heavy in the eyes from wine, and he hath washed in wine his raiment*: but Judah now has no eyes, and his raiment is in rags. The landscape of to-day is liker the second portrait—that drawn by Isaiah—of what Judah should be after his enemies had stripped him. *In that day shall the Lord shave, with a razor that is hired, the head and the hair of the feet and the beard. And it shall be in that day, a man shall nourish a young cow and a couple of sheep; and it shall be, because of the abundance of the making of milk, he shall eat butter,—for butter and honey shall all eat, that is left in the midst of the land. And it shall be in that day, that every place in which there were a thousand vines at a thousand silverlings—for briars and for thorns shall it be. . . . And all the hills that were digged with the mattock, thou shalt not come thither for fear of briars and*

¹ Gen. xlix. 8-12.

*thorns ; but it shall be for the sending forth of oxen and for the treading of sheep.*¹ With the exceptions named above, this is exactly the Judah of to-day. But we have a third portrait, by the prophet Jeremiah,² of what Judah should be after the Restoration from Exile, and in this it is remarkable that no reversion is promised to a high state of cultivation, with olives and vines as the luxuriant features of the country, but that her permanent wealth and blessing are conceived as pastoral. . . . *For I will bring again the captivity of the land as in the beginning, saith Jehovah. Thus saith Jehovah of Hosts: Again shall there be in this place—the Desolate, without man or even beast—and in all its cities, the habitation of shepherds couching their flocks. In the cities of the Mountain,—or Hill-Country,—of Judah, in the cities of the Shephelah, and in the cities of the Negeb, and in the land of Benjamin, and in the suburbs of Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah, again shall the flocks pass upon the hands of him that telleth them, saith Jehovah.* Now, though other prospects of the restoration of Judah include husbandry and vine culture,³ and though the Jews after the Exile speak of their property as vineyards, oliveyards and cornland, along with sheep,⁴ yet the prevailing aspect of Judah is pastoral, and the fulfilment of Jacob's luscious blessing must be sought for in the few fruitful

¹ Isa. vii. 20 ff.

² Jeremiah xxxiii. 12–13. The passage begins with ver. 10.

³ Micah iv. 4 and 1 Kings iv. 25 give the ideal state, as *every man under his own vine and fig-tree*. Jeremiah xxxi. 24, in his picture of the future, places husbandmen before them that go forth with flocks. Habakkuk puts vines, figs, and olives before flocks, iii. 17. Isaiah lxxv. 10 says, *Sharon shall be a fold of flocks, and the valley of Achor a place for herds to couch for My people that have sought Me*; but in ver. 21, *they shall plant vineyards*, cf. Isaiah lxi. 5, *strangers shall stand and feed your flocks, and the sons of the alien shall be your plowmen and vinedressers*.

⁴ Nehemiah v. Haggai speaks only of husbandry. Malachi sees both flocks and vines. Joel catalogues corn, wine and oil, figs, pomegranates, palms, and apples (chap. i.). Cattle and herds with him are in the background. New wine and milk are the blessings of the future, iii. 18.

corners of the land, and especially at Hebron, which, as Judah's first political centre, would in the time of her supremacy be the obvious model for the nation's ideal figure.¹

But this has already brought us to the first of those three features of Judæa's geography, which are so significant in her history: her pastoral character; her neighbourhood to the desert; her unsuitableness for the growth of a great city.

1. If, as we have seen, the prevailing character of Judæa be pastoral, with husbandry only incidental to her life, it is not surprising that the forms which have impressed both her history and religion upon the world should be those of the pastoral habit. Her origin; more than once her freedom and power of political recuperation; more than once her prophecy; her images of God, and her sweetest poetry of the spiritual life, have been derived from this source. It is the stateliest shepherds of all time that the dawn of history reveals upon her fields: men not sprung from her own remote conditions, nor confined to them, but moving across the world in converse with great empires, and bringing down from Heaven truths sublime and universal to wed with the simple habits of her life. These were the patriarchs of the nation. The founder of its one dynasty, and the first of its literary prophets, were also *taken from following the flocks*.² The king and every true leader of men was called a shepherd. Jehovah was the Shepherd of His people, and they the sheep of His pasture. It was in Judæa that Christ called Himself the Good Shepherd,—as it was in Judæa also, that, taking the other great feature of her life, He said He was the True Vine.³

¹ One is tempted to ask whether any inference as to the date of Gen. xlix. can be drawn from its representation of Judah as chiefly a wine-growing country; but I do not think any such inference would be at all trustworthy, as may be seen from a comparison of the passages cited in the above notes.

² 2 Sam. vii. 8; Amos vii. 15.

³ Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, xiii.

Judæa is, perhaps, as good ground as is in all the East for observing the grandeur, the indispensableness of the shepherd's character. An Eastern pasture is very different from the narrow meadows and dyked hillsides with which we are familiar at home. It is vast and often practically boundless; it has to be extensive, for the greater part of it is barren—in fact the Hebrew word for desert and for pasture is the same. The mass of it consists of dry stony soil, out of which, for a great part of the year, the sun has sucked all life. In this monotony the breaks are few, and consist of paths more or less fitful, gorges or thickets where wild beasts lurk, and oases of pleasant grass and water. Now in such a landscape of mirage, illusive paths, lurking terrors, and infrequent herbage, it is evident that the person and character of the shepherd must mean a great deal more to the sheep than it means to sheep with us. With us a flock of sheep without a shepherd is a common experience: every day we may see them left to themselves in a secure field, or scattered over the side of a hill, with a far-travelling wire fence to keep them from straying. But I do not remember ever to have seen in the East a flock of sheep without a shepherd. On such a landscape as Judæa he and his character are indispensable. He must be vigilant and sleepless, a man who knows his ground from horizon to horizon, and who knows every one of his sheep: the shelter as well as the guide of his flock, and ready every day to risk his life for them.

On some high, desolate moor, across which at night the hyænas howl, as you meet him, sleepless, weather-beaten, supple, far-sighted, armed, with his sheep around him, you understand why the shepherd of Judæa sprang so often to the front in his people's history; why they gave his name to their king, and made him the symbol of Providence; why Christ took him as the type of self-sacrifice.

Sometimes we enjoyed our noonday rest beside one of

those Judæan wells, to which three or four shepherds come down with their flocks. The flocks mixed with each other, and we would wonder how each shepherd could get his own again. But after the watering and the playing were over, the shepherds one by one went up different sides of the valley, and each called out his peculiar call. And the sheep of each drew out of the crowd to their own shepherd, and so the flocks passed away as orderly as they had come. *The shepherd of the sheep . . . when he putteth forth his own sheep, he goeth before them, and the sheep follow him, for they know his voice, and a stranger will they not follow. I am the good Shepherd, and know My sheep, and am known of mine.*

2. With the pastoral character of the hill-country of Judæa we may take its neighbourhood to the desert—the wilderness of Judæa. In the Old Testament this land is called The Jeshimon, a word meaning *devastation*, and no term could better suit its haggard and crumbling appearance. It covers some thirty-five miles by eleven. We came upon it from Maon. The cultivated land to the west of Hebron sinks quickly to rolling hills and waterless vales, covered by broom and grass, across which it took us all forenoon to ride. The wells are very few, and almost all reservoirs of rainwater, jealously guarded through the summer by their Arab owners. For an hour or two more we rode up and down steep ridges, each barer than the preceding, and then descended rocky slopes to a wide plain, where we left behind the last brown grass and thistle—the last flock of goats we had passed two hours before. Short bushes, thorns, and succulent creepers were all that relieved the brown and yellow bareness of the crumbling limestone and scattered shingle and sand. The strata were contorted; ridges ran in all directions; distant hills to north and south looked like gigantic dustheaps; those near we could see to be torn as if by waterspouts. When we were not stepping

on detritus the limestone was blistered and peeling. Often the ground sounded hollow; sometimes rock and sand slipped in large quantity from the tread of the horses; sometimes the living rock was bare and jagged, especially in the frequent gullies that therefore glared and beat with heat like furnaces. Far to the east ran the Moab hills, and in front of them we got glimpses of the Dead Sea, the deep blue a most refreshing sight across the desert foreground. So for two hours we rode, till the sea burst upon us in all its length, and this chaos which we had traversed tumbled and broke down twelve hundred feet of limestone, flint and marl,—crag, corries and precipices,—to the broad beach of the water. Such is Jeshimon, the wilderness of Judæa. It carries the violence and desolation of the Dead Sea valley right up to the heart of the country—to the roots of the Mount of Olives, to within two hours of the gates of Hebron, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem.

When you realise that this howling waste came within reach of nearly every Jewish child; when you climb the Mount of Olives, or any hill about Bethlehem or the hill of Tekoa, and looking east see those fifteen miles of chaos, sinking to a stretch of the Dead Sea—you begin to understand the influence of the desert on Jewish imagination and literature. It gave the Jew, as it gives the foreigner of to-day, the sense of living next door to doom; the sense of how narrow is the border between life and death; the awe of the power of God, who can make contiguous regions so opposite in character. *He turneth rivers into a wilderness, and watersprings into a thirsty ground.* The desert is always in face of the prophets, and its howling of beasts and its dry sand blow mournfully across their pages the foreboding of judgment.

But this is not the only influence of the desert. Meteoric effects are nowhere in Palestine so simple or so brilliant. And there is the annual miracle, when, after the winter

rains, even these wastes take on a glorious green. Hence the sudden rushes of light and life across the prophet's vision; it is from the desert that he mostly borrows his imagery of the creative, instantaneous Divine grace. *The wilderness and the solitary place shall be glad for them: the desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose.*

Two, at least, of the prophets were born in face of the wilderness of Judah,—Amos and Jeremiah,—and on both it has left its fascination. Amos lived to the south of Jerusalem, at Tekoa. No one can read his book without feeling that he haunted heights and lived in the face of very wide horizons. But from Tekoa you see the exact scenery of his visions. The slopes on which Amos herded his cattle show the mass of desert hills with their tops *below* the spectator, and therefore displaying every meteoric effect in a way they could not have done had he been obliged to look *up* to them:—the cold wind that blows off them after sunset; through a gap the Dead Sea with its heavy mists; beyond the gulf the range of Moab cold and grey, till the sun leaps from behind its barrier, and in a moment the world of hill-tops below Tekoa is flooded with light. *Lo He that formeth the mountains, and createth the wind, and declareth unto man what is his thought; that maketh the morning darkness, and treadeth on the high places of the earth, Jehovah, God of Hosts is His name; that maketh the Seven Stars and Orion, and turneth the shadow of death into morning, and maketh the day dark with night; that calleth for the waters of the sea, and poureth them out on the face of the earth—Jehovah is His name.*

Jeremiah grew up at Anathoth, a little to the north-east of Jerusalem, across Scopus and over a deep valley. It is the last village eastward, and from it the land breaks and falls away in desert hills to the north end of the Dead Sea. The vision of that maze of hills was burnt into the prophet's mind in contrast with the clear, ordered word of God. O

*generation, see ye the word of the Lord: Have I been a wilderness unto Israel, a land of darkness?*¹ He had lived in face of the scorching desert air—*A dry wind of the high places in the wilderness toward the daughter of My people, not to fan nor to cleanse.* And in face of the chaotic prospect, he described judgment in these terms: *I beheld the earth, and lo it was without form and void . . . I beheld, and lo the fruitful place was a wilderness . . . at the presence of Jehovah, by His fierce anger.*²

The wilderness of Judæa played also a great part in her history as the refuge of political fugitives and religious solitaries—a part which it still continues. The story of Saul's hunt after David, and David's narrow escapes, becomes very vivid among those tossed and broken hills, where the valleys are all so alike, and large bodies of men may camp near each other without knowing it. Ambushes are everywhere possible, and alarms pass rapidly across the bare and silent hills. You may travel for hours and feel as solitary as at sea without a sail in sight, but if you are in search of any one, your guide's signal will make men leap from slopes that did not seem to shelter a rabbit; and if you are suspected, your passage may be stopped by a dozen men, as if they had sprung from the earth.

Of Engedi and of Masada—after Jerusalem fell, the last retreat of the Zealots, to which the Romans followed them—there is no room in this paper to speak.

But we cannot pass from the wilderness of Judæa without remembering two holier events of which it was the scene. Here John was prepared for his austere mission, and found his figures of judgment. Here you understand his description of his preaching—like a desert fire when the brown grass and thorns on the more fertile portions will blaze for miles, and the unclean reptiles creep out of their holes before its heat: *O generation of vipers, who hath taught*

¹ Jer. ii. 31.

² Jer. iv. 11, 23, 26.

you to flee from the wrath to come? And here our Lord suffered His Temptation. Straightway the Spirit driveth Him into the wilderness. For hours as you travel across these hills you may feel no sign of life, except the scorpions and vipers which your passage startles, in the distance a few wild goats or gazelles, and at night the wailing of the jackal and the hyæna's howl. He was alone with the wild beasts.

3. But the greatest fact with which Judæa impresses you, is her unsuitableness for the growth of a great city. There is no harbour, no river, no trunk road, no convenient market for the nations on either side. In their commerce with each other, these pass by Judæa, finding their emporiums in the cities of Philistia, or, as of old, at Petra and Bosra on the east of the Jordan. Gaza has outdone Hebron as the port of the desert. Jerusalem is no match for Shechem in fertility or convenience of site. The whole land stands aloof, waterless, on the road to nowhere. There are none of the natural conditions of a great city.

And yet it was here that She arose who more than Athens and more than Rome, taught the nations civic virtue, and gave her name to the ideal city men are ever striving to build on earth, to the City of God that shall one day descend from heaven—the New Jerusalem. Her builder was not nature nor the wisdom of men; but the Word of God, by her prophets, laid her eternal foundations in justice and reared her walls in her people's faith in God.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

*THE DOCTRINE OF THE ATONEMENT IN THE
NEW TESTAMENT.*

V. THE FURTHER TEACHING OF THE EPISTLE TO THE
ROMANS.

IN our last paper we saw that in the great exposition of the Gospel contained in the Epistle to the Romans the death of Christ is first mentioned in a dependent sentence following closely upon a comprehensive statement of St. Paul's fundamental doctrine of Justification through Faith. This collocation suggests that the two great doctrines of Justification through Faith and Justification through the Death of Christ are indissolubly connected; and that the latter is in some sense subordinate to the former. The precise relation of these doctrines is clearly stated in the enunciation of the second doctrine contained in Romans iii. 24-26. St. Paul teaches that Christ died not by accident but by the deliberate design of God, and that God gave Christ to die in order to harmonize with His own justice the justification of believers.

We also saw that this conception of the purpose of the death of Christ explains and justifies, and is the only explanation of, the teaching of the entire New Testament on this mysterious topic.

These results I shall now endeavour further to test and to elucidate by examination of other references to the death of Christ in the remainder of the Epistle to the Romans.

After the enunciation in Romans iii. 21-26 of the two great doctrines just mentioned, St. Paul goes on to discuss further in chapters iii. 27-iv. 24 the former of these doctrines, viz. faith as a condition of justification. He then discusses in chapter v. the blessed consequences of justification through the death of Christ. The transition from the

one doctrine to the other is made in chapter iv. 25: "who was given up because of our trespasses, and was raised because of our justification."

The word *παράδωμι*, which we may render *give up*, is frequently used in the sense of handing over to a hostile power or into some form of adversity. So Matthew v. 25, "lest the adversary *give thee up* to the judge, and the judge to the officer, and thou be cast into prison"; and chapter x. 17, "they shall *give you up* to councils, and in their synagogues they will scourge you . . . but when they *give you up*, be not anxious . . . brother will *give up* brother to death." The same word as a participle is used in chapters xxvi. 25, 46, 48, xxvii. 3 to describe Judas who gave up Jesus into the power of His enemies.

Very instructive is the reiteration in Romans i. 24, 26, 28, "for which cause God *gave them up* to uncleanness . . . to passions of dishonour . . . to a rejected mind." St. Paul means that God surrendered to the dominion and bondage of their own depraved nature those who turned from Him to idols.

On the other hand the same word is frequently used for treasure committed to the care of others. So in Matthew xxv. 14 we have a master who *gave up* his goods to his servants, went into a far country, and then came to demand an account of the money put in their charge. In each case the word means to hand over into the power or custody of another.

In Romans iv. 25 we read that Christ "was given up because of our trespasses." St. Paul thus asserts that in consequence of our sins He was surrendered to a hostile power. Similarly in chapter viii. 32: God "spared not His own Son, but *gave Him up* for us all." Notice here the preposition *ὑπέρ*, the most frequent term to describe the relation of the death of Christ to those for whom He died. Its meaning has been already explained on p. 186. In

Galatians ii. 20, with exultant gratitude St. Paul speaks of Him "who loved me and *gave up* Himself for me." The argument following in verse 21, "if righteousness be through law, then Christ died in vain," suggests irresistibly that he refers to Christ's self-surrender to death. Similarly, and in close agreement with Matthew xxvi. 2, 15, 16, 23, 24, 25, 45, 46, 48; xxvii. 2, 3, 4, 18, 26, St. Paul speaks in 1 Corinthians xi. 23 of "the night in which He was *given up*." This frequent use of the word in this connection leaves no room to doubt that in Romans iv. 25 St. Paul refers to the death of Christ. And he asserts that His death was in consequence of our sins.

In the same connection we have a similar but less definite word in Galatians i. 4, "who *gave* Himself for our sins that He may rescue us from the present evil age"; in 1 Timothy ii. 6, "who *gave* Himself a ransom for all"; and in Titus ii. 14, "who *gave* Himself for us that He may ransom us from all lawlessness." These passages recall the same word in John iii. 16, "God so loved the world that He *gave* His only-begotten Son in order that whoever believeth in Him may not perish." The simpler word here used, *ἔδωκεν*, conveys the idea of free surrender; but does not suggest, as does *παρέδωκεν* in Romans viii. 32, the power into whose hands the surrendered one was given up.

The group of passages just discussed does not add much to our conception of the purpose of the death of Christ. But it affords further proof that St. Paul looked upon it as a result of a deliberate purpose and surrender of God. And it reveals the large place which this thought occupied in the mind of the great Apostle.

In Romans v. 1, the verse immediately following that which I have just in part expounded, St. Paul goes on to speak of "peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ." These words imply that prior to justification there was war between God and man and that through the agency of

Christ the hostility has been removed. Touching the exact nature of this hostility and the means of its removal, we seek further information.

In verse 5 St. Paul speaks of "the love of God," of which in verse 6 he gives an historical proof, viz. that "for ungodly persons Christ died." The significance of the death of Christ as a manifestation of the love of God, he expounds by comparing it with the greatest sacrifice which occasionally man will make for man. The love thus manifested, St. Paul then makes a sure ground of hope of future salvation. From the costliness of the blessing already received, he infers that greater blessings await us. In this argument, as stated in verse 9, he sums up what we have already received in the phrase "justified in His blood." This is a compact restatement of the teaching in chapter iii. 24, 25, where we read that justification comes through redemption which is in Christ whom God set forth in His own blood. The summing up in chapter v. 9 implies most clearly, (as does chapter iii. 25,) that our pardon was in some sense brought about by the violent death of Christ on the cross.

In Romans v. 10, which is evidently a restatement, in a form suggested by the words "peace with God" in verse 1, of the argument in verse 9, the phrase "reconciled to God through the death of His Son" is given as an equivalent of "justified in His blood." And in verse 11 we read "through whom we have now received the reconciliation." Similarly in 2 Corinthians v. 18-20 we read "who reconciled us to Himself through Christ . . . the ministry of the reconciliation . . . God was, in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself . . . Be reconciled to God." In all the above passages we have the same word *καταλλάσσω*; and the same grammatical construction, viz. men the direct objects of reconciliation, "who reconciled *us*," God its indirect object, "reconciled *to God*," and in 2 Corinthians v. 18, 19, God the Author and Christ the Agent of reconciliation.

In Ephesians ii. 16, the assertion "He is our peace" is expounded to mean that Christ's purpose was "to reconcile both (*i.e.* Jews and Gentiles) to God through the cross, having slain the enmity by it." St. Paul thus teaches that there was hostility between man and man and between man and God, and that in order to destroy it and bring about peace Christ died on the cross. This thought he embodies in strong language by representing the cross as the instrument by which Christ destroyed the enmity and made peace. In Colossians i. 20-22 the same purpose and the same instrument are ascribed to God: "He was pleased to reconcile all things to Himself, having made peace by the blood of His cross." The Christians at Colossæ were themselves once aliens and enemies; but "God hath reconciled them in the body of His flesh through His death." In these passages we have a stronger form of the verb used in Romans v. 10, ἀποκαταλλάσσω, suggesting perhaps restoration of a lost friendship. As before, sinners are the direct, and God the indirect, objects of reconciliation. In the Epistle to the Colossians, God is again its Author. That in the Epistle to the Ephesians it is attributed to Christ, creates no difficulty. For, whatever the Father does, He does through the agency of the Son.

In the above passages we have another conception of the death of Christ in its relation to man's salvation, *viz.* as a means of reconciliation to God. And, like the conception embodied in Romans iii. 26, also this conception is in the New Testament peculiar to St. Paul. It implies clearly that God gave Christ to die in order to break down a barrier between Himself and man erected by man's sin, and that the means used for this end was the death of Christ.

This teaching deserves further attention. Already we have seen that in Romans v. 10 the words "reconciled to God through the death of His Son" are given as an equivalent to "justified in His blood" in verse 9. And we

have seen on page 361 that the word *justify* as used by St. Paul has no direct reference to any inward change in man's disposition towards God but only or at least chiefly to a changed relation of guilty man to the Righteous Judge. Moreover, in Romans i.-v. we read nothing about the effect of the death of Christ on the moral life of man. Similarly, in 2 Corinthians v. 19, the assertion that "God was, in Christ, reconciling the world to Himself" is at once followed and supported by the words "not reckoning to them their trespasses." And the exhortation "Be reconciled to God" in verse 20 is in verse 21 supported by the statement that "Him who knew no sin, on our behalf He made to be sin." In other words, St. Paul's teaching that believers are reconciled to God is an inference from his teaching that they are justified.

This inference is strictly correct. Every man who breaks laws is at war with the state: for he is using his powers to injure it. And the state is at war with him. The king's officers arrest and punish, and if needs be his soldiers shoot down, the king's own subjects, whose welfare he greatly desires, when they disturb the public peace. He is compelled to treat them as enemies; and they have to count upon him as their enemy. And, if transgression involves war, forgiveness brings peace. The pardoned transgressor no longer has reason to fear the power of the king. All this we cannot but transfer to our conception of God's government of the world. Consequently those whom in Romans v. 9 St. Paul has described as "justified in His blood" he may in verse 10 correctly speak of as "reconciled to God through the death of His Son."

Once more. St. Paul teaches in Romans iii. 26 that God gave Christ to die in order to harmonize with His own justice the justification of those who believe in Christ. If so, by the death of Christ is removed an obstacle to justification which has its root in the moral nature of God. This

implies that God has something against the sinner which makes needful for his salvation this costly sacrifice. And in the light of this divine hostility to sin and in some sense to the sinner so long as he persists in sin, must be interpreted the assertion "we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son." In other words, by the death of Christ is removed not only the sinner's hostility to God but the sinner's exposure to God's anger against all sin.

The sinner's hostility to God is expressly mentioned in Romans viii. 7: "the mind of the flesh is enmity to God." But to this aspect of sin we have no reference in the first five chapters of the Epistle. In them St. Paul is dealing with sin only as exposing man to punishment.

To the above exposition may be objected the grammatical construction, already noticed, of the word *reconcile*, viz. that God is never said to be reconciled to the sinner, but always the sinner reconciled to God. From this, some have inferred that the only obstacle to peace is in man.

That this inference is incorrect, we learn from the use elsewhere of the same word. In Matthew v. 23, 24 we find a cognate and equivalent term *διαλλάσσω*. A man coming to sacrifice remembers that his brother "hath something against" him. Here, manifestly, the obstacle to peace is not in the sacrificer but in the offended one. Else there would be no need to leave his gift and go away in order to be reconciled. For, any personal animosity against the other man, the offerer might himself at once lay aside. Our Lord evidently means that he must go and do his utmost to persuade the offended man to lay aside his feelings of hostility. Yet the offerer is bidden, "be reconciled to thy brother." Similarly, in 1 Corinthians vii. 11, a woman separated from her husband is bidden either to remain alone or to "be reconciled to her husband." A Christian woman could have no option about laying aside

any hostile feelings of her own. The only question for her is whether she can persuade her husband to lay aside his hostility to her. Very instructive is 1 Samuel xxix. 4, LXX. Some Philistines objected to David going with them to war. They said that he was a servant of Saul; and asked, "wherewith will he be reconciled to his master? will it not be with the heads of these men?" They feared that he would try to regain the favour of Saul by betraying and destroying the men with whom he had taken refuge. Yet this supposed removal of the anger of Saul is described as David being reconciled to his master. Of any enmity of David to Saul, there is no mention or thought. A similar use of the word *καταλλάσσω* is found in Josephus, *Antiquities* bk. v. 2. 8. These examples prove that St. Paul's language does not imply or suggest that the hindrance to peace removed by the death of Christ was wholly or chiefly in man.

On the other hand, in 2 Maccabees i. 5 we read, "may God hear your petitions and *be reconciled* to you, and not forsake you in the evil time." So chapter vii. 33, "if the Lord be angry for a short time, He will again *be reconciled* to His own servants": also chapter viii. 29.

This double use of the same phrase warns us that St. Paul's words now before us do not in themselves determine whether the hindrance to peace removed by the death of Christ is in man or in God. This must be determined by the context. And we have seen that in the Epistle to the Romans the context determines that in the phrase "reconciled to God through the death of His Son" St. Paul refers wholly or chiefly to the sinner's deliverance from the righteous anger of God.

To express this meaning, the grammatical construction used by St. Paul is very appropriate. For the phrase, "God has reconciled us to Himself" emphasises the truth that reconciliation began with God and is His work; and

that He is only the indirect object of it, whereas man is its direct object. For man is chiefly affected by it. The real hindrance is in man's sin; and this hindrance God removes by the gift of His Son to die. But, as St. Paul has plainly taught, the reason why this hindrance can be removed only by means of the death of Christ is in God, and specially in His justice.

The phraseology of St. Paul which refuses to make God the direct object of *reconciliation* is in complete harmony with the phraseology of the New Testament and of the LXX. which, as we shall see in a subsequent paper, refuses to make God the direct object of propitiation.

Notice carefully that the propitiation and reconciliation and the harmonizing of forgiveness with the justice of God are ever attributed to the Father's love. He provided, at infinite cost to Himself, the means which His own justice demanded as the necessary condition of the justification of the ungodly. To represent the Father as implacable and as pacified only by the intercession and death of Christ, is to contradict both the letter and the spirit of the teaching of St. Paul.

The references to the death of Christ in Romans vi. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, we shall postpone till a later paper, in order to place them in relation to other important teaching in the third group of the Epistles of Paul.

In Romans vii. 4, the unsaved are compared to a married woman, who is forbidden by the law to be united to anyone other than her still living husband; and the justified, who are set free by death, viz. by the death of Christ, are compared to a woman set free by death, viz. the death of her first husband, from the law which forbade her second marriage. This comparison is of great importance. For it implies, especially the words "dead to the law through the body of Christ," that through the death of Christ has been removed a hindrance to our saving union with Christ

having its root in the Law of God. It is thus a remarkable coincidence with the assertion in Romans iii. 26 that God gave Christ to die in order to harmonize with His own justice the justification of believers. For the Law is the authoritative utterance of the justice of God. A legal barrier is therefore a barrier which has its foundation in the justice of God. In other words, Romans vii. 4 is but a restatement, in view of the law of God which was ever present to the thought of St. Paul, of the fundamental teaching in Romans iii. 24-26.

The same idea meets us again in Galatians ii. 19: "through law I died to law, that I may live for God: I am crucified with Christ." This can only mean that through a legal process they who believe in Christ have escaped from the condemnation of the law, and from the hindrance which it presented to their salvation. That the death of Christ is the mysterious means of this liberation from the claims of the law, is made quite clear by the words "crucified with Christ" and by the argument following, "if through law cometh righteousness, then hath Christ died to no purpose."

The relation between the death of Christ and the law of God, meets us again in Galatians iii. 13, 14, where we read that through His death upon the cross and the curse involved therein Christ bought us off from the curse pronounced by the Law upon all who fail to obey all its commands, in order that through faith we may obtain the blessings promised to Abraham. This implies that the Law presented a hindrance to the fulfilment of the promise, and that this hindrance was removed by the death of Christ.

Similar teaching is found in a later group of the Epistles of St. Paul. In Colossians ii. 13 we read that God has made us "alive together with Christ, having forgiven us all trespasses." This forgiveness, involving spiritual resurrec-

tion, St. Paul further describes by saying that God blotted out the handwriting which with its decrees was against us; and adds that He nailed it to the cross, and thus took it out of the way. Evidently he means that through the death of Christ upon the cross God removed a barrier to our salvation which had its foundation in the written law. In Ephesians ii. 14 we read of the middle wall of partition which Christ has broken down; and of the enmity which He has made inoperative by making inoperative the law of commandments in decrees. St. Paul adds that Christ's purpose was to reconcile to God both Jews and Gentiles, formerly at enmity each with the other and both with God, by means of the cross; and that by the cross Christ had slain this enmity. These somewhat difficult words imply that the enmity between man and God was removed by means of the death of Christ: and the context suggests that in so doing Christ made inoperative the condemnation of the written law.

These five very different passages reveal the firm hold on the thought of St. Paul of the idea that through the death of Christ was removed a hindrance to the salvation of men having its root in the Law of God. And, since the Law is the authoritative expression of the justice of God, this teaching is implied in, and implies, the teaching in Romans iii. 26 that God gave Christ to die in order He might be "Himself just and a justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus." We have also seen in this paper that the same fundamental teaching is embodied in another mode of expression familiar to St. Paul, viz. that through the death of Christ sinners have been reconciled to God. These different modes of presenting one fundamental conception of the relation of the death of Christ to our salvation, are decisive proof that this conception was actually held by the great Apostle; and they reveal its controlling influence over his thought and life.

The remaining teaching of the Epistle to the Romans need not detain us. In chapter xiv. 9 we read that "for this end Christ died and lived, in order that both of dead and living He may be Lord." This implies that Christ died of His own deliberate will, and with a definite purpose. So in verse 15 we read, "destroy not him for whom Christ died." These passages are in complete harmony with others already expounded.

To sum up. So far as we have yet examined it, St. Paul's teaching about the death of Christ is a logical development of one fundamental idea, viz. that God gave Christ to die in order to remove a hindrance to the salvation of sinful man which has its root in the justice of God. And we have already seen that this conception of the purpose of the death of Christ explains the teaching of all the other writers of the New Testament.

In my next paper we shall consider other teaching of the great Apostle on the same subject.

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

THE NOBLEMAN'S SON AND THE CENTURION'S SERVANT.

(JOHN iv. 46 ; MATT. viii. 5 ; AND LUKE vii. 1.

AT the threshold of the ministry of Christ, and in the very act of passing from seclusion to His immortal publicity, we saw Him pause to bless the marriage of two obscure and forgotten villagers. It was a natural and exquisite inauguration of His career, a pure and fit expression of the love in the heart of Jesus.

But no sooner does His work begin to grapple with the sad conditions of humanity, no sooner is a "Saviour" manifested, than salvation is demanded from evils far direr and

more stern than the failure of a wedding-feast, so that the whisper "they have no wine" is quickly exchanged for the wail of anguish, "Sir, come down ere my child die."

In truth it is the radical defect of all sentimental religions and all dreamy philosophies, that however they may appease our minor complainings, they have no solace for bleeding hearts. Yet these are everywhere. Stern disease, imminent bereavement, the importunity of a parent in his anguish, these give their tone to the second record of a miracle. This was not however the second that was actually performed, for in Jerusalem, at the passover, many had believed, beholding the signs which Jesus wrought (John ii. 23, iv. 45).

This miracle, the healing of the son of the nobleman, must be studied along with that of the healing of the slave of the centurion. Rationalism makes this necessary, by insisting on the identification of the two stories, to the confusion of both. And the true answer to its cavils leads us so far into the heart and spirit of the second, that a complete examination of it cannot then be postponed without involving intolerable repetition.

It is plain that if the two miracles are indeed independent they bear witness to one another. The same tone, the same spirit and character pervade the narrative in the two synoptics and that in John. Our witnesses (if this be so) will then be the rationalists who have actually mistaken one story for the other, Strauss and Schenkel, Ewald and De Wette, Baur and Weizsäcker,¹ besides Renan, who uses in this connection language of much interest and significance. "It is," he says, "a miracle of healing, closely resembling those which fill the synoptics, and answering, with some variations, to that which is related in Matthew viii. 5, and in Luke vii. 1. This is highly remarkable, for it proves

¹ It is by a mere slip, apparently, that Irenæus wrote, "*Filium centurionis absens verbo curavit, dicens, Vade filius tuus vivit.*"

that the author did not imagine his miracles according to his own conceit, but in relating them followed a tradition. In fact of the seven miracles in John, there are only two, the marriage in Cana and the raising of Lazarus, which are without a trace in the synoptics. The other five can be recognised with differences in detail." (*V. de J.*, 15th ed., *appendice* p. 495.) Now if it be considered how early a date this appendix assigns to John, the prior tradition which he used must have been primitive indeed. And the later modifications of Renan's theory become very intelligible, not as harmonizing better with the phenomena which suggested its earlier form, but as evading inexorable consequences afterwards discovered, and fatal to unbelief.

Now what are the statements which have to be dealt with? The rationalistic theories, as of the records in general so of these stories in particular, all require the Johannine narrative to be the last outcome of progressive improvements in legend, and advances of the tradition. Strauss makes the improvements deliberate and calculated. By placing Jesus in Cana, "an increase of the distance, and consequently an exaggeration of the miracle was obtained." The return of the father a day later left room for investigation, and showed that the hour of improvement was that of the interview with Jesus (*New Life*, ii. 201).

Keim also insists on the greater distance, the greater promptitude ("mysterious telegram of the Lord!") and the conversion of the household—"a detail of which the earlier writers know nothing" (iii. 220-1).

But it must be clear that in all cases of restoration from desperate illness, the persuasion of the household is assumed. We are told nothing of the state of mind of Jairus and his wife after the miracle; but who doubts it on that account?

Here it is expressly mentioned simply because John is engaged in tracing the beginnings of belief wherever Jesus

went, at Cana as well as in Capernaum, and in Samaria without any miracle at all. "Now we believe, not because of Thy speaking, for we have heard for ourselves, and know." So far is John from supposing that faith is a gauge for measurement of the relative bulk of prodigies. And when two miracles are said to have been wrought from a distance, it is almost a jest to appraise their comparative greatness by the number of miles between the operator and the patient.

In truth a much stronger case could be made out for precisely the inverse of their position, for reversing the order of the narratives, and pronouncing the story in the synoptics to be the later and more developed marvel. It could be argued that the faith, by which Jesus obtains honour, which was so wavering and unsteady in St. John, is confirmed and unhesitating now, the doubts of the early story having come to be regarded as unworthy and an insult. He is glorified by a confession, as formal as if it were a fragment of some creed, that all human ailments are to Him as the subordinates in a well-disciplined army, a position undreamed of by John. Above all, a hint which has been dropped by the earlier story, when it made the applicant a courtier, a Jew as yet, but contaminated by official relations with the foreigner, has since received the most significant exaggerations. The suppliant is now a faithful Gentile, a centurion; and even the notion that he was recommended by some courtesies shown to Judaism, which evidently prevailed for a while, is formally controverted by St. Matthew, who declares that the children of the kingdom are to be cast into outer darkness, and that it is from the outmost limits of the heathen world that the true recruits of the Church are to be drawn.

Are these not indications of the latest recension of the story, after the Church had ceased to have any hope of the Jews, and when the gospel had already proved successful in

the remotest realms? All this, and much more could have been plausibly urged, if the requirements of the sceptical case had been reversed. And it conclusively proves the folly of paying any regard to arguments of the kind, which can be tossed about, from one side to the other, like tennis-balls.

But it is not enough for us merely to insist that there are marked differences between the narratives (which will be met by an assertion that they have simply drifted far away from each other), nor to show that the evidence for growth, from the synoptics to John, has broken down. We must account for the resemblances between them, which are too striking to be entirely accidental.

These are three: the working of both miracles from a distance; the official station of both petitioners (however great the difference in their rank), and the really startling fact that both were resident in Capernaum. In these is the strength of the hostile position; but a closer consideration will show that the official and local proximity of the applicants can explain all the details of the second narrative, including the repetition of a cure from a distance; and that a comparison of the accounts is a help instead of a hindrance to our faith.

It is obvious that in such a life as that of Jesus, one incident must often lead to another, and certain events would tend to reproduce themselves, in the broad outline, yet with many differences in detail. Consider, for example, how hard it was for a woman, trammelled by oriental usages, to find any suitable expression for her loyalty; and then decide whether the fact that Jesus allowed one woman, and even a sinner, to anoint Him would not embolden a happier sister also to anoint her Master, when eager to do what she could, being at once grateful for a stupendous miracle, and foreboding His burial, which was at hand. The suspicion of some confusion in two narratives of the

same event soon gives place to a sense of natural and beautiful connection between two acts of love, different, but not wholly independent. We might almost divine, even if it were unrecorded, that such homage, having been accepted, would more probably happen twice than once only. And thus it is with the two miracles before us: they also are separate but not independent. Instead of wondering that both occurred in the same place, it would have been far more surprising if the second had happened elsewhere, if the centurion had conceived such extraordinary confidence without any knowledge of the experience of his neighbour, who had already learned how Jesus was obeyed when He said to a disease, Depart.

The faith at which Jesus marvelled becomes intelligible, without ceasing to be admirable, when we reflect that the centurion was evidently aware of the miracle formerly wrought for another inhabitant of the same city, an eminent person, one of the court which his own sword protected. That the two miracles performed from a distance should bear the same address would no doubt be strange if the manner of the first had not inspired the centurion to urge with remarkable insistence the manner of the second. It ceases to be surprising when we read that the second was suggested by an inhabitant of the town, deeply impressed by what had already been done, and very reluctant to overtax the generous condescension which would perform a miracle for the slave of a Gentile. The faith of the centurion, which was startling, even where the nobleman dwelt, would have been almost incredible elsewhere. And the natural sequence of the two narratives, as the Church receives them, may best be appreciated by reversing their order, and observing how strange would seem the incredulity of the noble, if already, in his town, the faith of the centurion had been rewarded. In exactly the same degree had the confidence of the latter been assisted.

And thus, adopting the Christian view, all is order and consistency, while the sceptical recension rends the fabric into pieces without even making a harmonious pattern of the patchwork.

It is now time to consider, in more detail, the first of these narratives, that of John. Who was the petitioner? The term βασιλικός might possibly denote one of royal blood, but then he would surely have been named; or perhaps no more than a member of the Herodian faction, but it is not in John's manner to mention so irrelevant and trifling a detail as this. It is reasonable to infer that he was simply a courtier. And here John is in agreement with Luke, who names Chuza and Manaán, in quite different connections, as having relations both with Jesus and with the court. A little later we find Herod himself excited by the miracles of Jesus, first to the slavish dread which believed Him to be "John whom I beheaded," and when this fear wore away with impunity, then to desire to see Him, with that idle curiosity to which no sign is given.

From the court of Herod, then, comes a man of sufficient rank to expect that Jesus, for his sake, should willingly undertake a journey, and to expostulate, with some impatience, when He delays to discuss the terms on which men should believe. There is no lack of sympathy in the first reply of Jesus to the prayer that He would come and heal a child at the point of death. The Syro-Phœnician woman would have been quick to detect, in His words, a hint that the sign should be vouchsafed.

But there is a keen discernment of the weakness of that belief which some would think strong enough, since it led the nobleman to undertake a journey, and to appeal to the Prophet of Nazareth for his son's life. Many who forget religion in prosperity take refuge, when afflicted, in passion-

ate appeals to heaven, and it is supposed to show how much latent religion men possess, that—

“Eyes which the teacher cannot school
By wayside graves are raised,
And lips say ‘God be pitiful’
Which ne’er said ‘God be praised.’”

But our Lord thought otherwise. The passionate energies of despair are not spiritual in their strength. And Jesus, fresh from His stay with the Samaritans, who believed because they heard, complained, “Except ye see signs and wonders¹ ye will not believe.” Persons who sigh because the age of miracles is past, and who think that a revival of faith would regain signs and wonders for the Church, ought to observe that the very object of the miracles was to render themselves unnecessary, to bring on a condition of faith in which they can be put away as childish things. And so Jesus at the outset makes this courtier aware that He is no mere Thaumaturgist but a Divine Teacher, who requires faith in its simplest and most direct forms. This faith He absolutely exacts, for when the trembling father cries out against a delay which may prove fatal, it is peremptorily demanded that without seeing he shall believe, contented with an assurance, without any sign, except indeed what shone upon the heavenly face of Jesus. Thus was elicited, e-d-ucated, more faith than the man was conscious of, so that his heart left him free, either to transact other business, or else to visit friends upon the road home, which he might easily have reached, had he been impatient, between “the seventh hour,” and nightfall.

It is impossible not to be struck by the similarity between this conduct of Jesus and that of Elisha in sending away Naaman, who also received only a promise, which took effect

¹ Note that the word *τέρας* never occurs alone, except in Peter's quotation from the Old Testament, Acts ii. 19. Even there the “wonders” in heaven are closely connected with the “signs” on earth.

when the applicant showed faith in it. In both cases it was a man of rank who was thus treated, a man to whom any observer of persons would have been specially obsequious. And we may well suppose that the ancient story helped the nobleman to believe the word which Jesus spake unto him.

The words of Jesus are in deep harmony with the blessing in this gospel for those who have not seen yet have believed, and also with the declaration elsewhere, that if moral agencies have entirely failed, men will not believe though one rose from the dead. In form that declaration goes beyond this. Here we read that only signs will bring the people to believe ("ye" not "thou"); there a supreme sign will fail. But there is only a formal inconsistency, for this passage speaks of the difficulty of inspiring a new faith, the other of the impossibility of converting men who are false to the truth which they profess. The sadness of Christ's statement was more than justified afterward, when, having done among them the signs which none other man did, He declared that they had both seen and hated both Him and His Father.

There is something very natural in the simple close of this story. The servants, surprised at their Master's delay, met the nobleman with good news; and though he had relied upon Christ's assurance, yet it was reasonable that he should test the miracle by asking at what hour began the gradual amendment which was all that he expected, and all that earthly medicine can bestow. But on learning that at the hour of his interview with Jesus the fever entirely left him, the man, already a believer, believed. One is always expecting some person to parade this paradox as an inconsistency. In truth it is what happens whenever we make larger proof of our privilege and of the power of prayer, and from happy experience draw a deeper and richer persuasion, a more spontaneous and adequate faith in Him, in whom we believed before.

It is a process which can be fatally inverted. After the sop Satan entered into Judas. But Satan had entered into him already when he first opened negotiations with the priests. And even before that, he was a devil (John xiii. 27, vi. 70; Luke xxii. 3).

Some months later, when the Sermon on the Mount had been preached and several miracles wrought, the ease of this one inspired a centurion in the same town to make a bold request. Contemptible as a slave might be, this soldier was weak enough to love one. What he asked would imply condescension indeed, but no labour, since Jesus was nearer now (as the sceptics so carefully remind us) than when he healed a child by a mere word. It is worth notice that until His arrest, when He healed the ear of Malchus, this is His only recorded contact with that unhappy class, whose yoke He came to break, and for one of whom His apostle wrote the most exquisite and urbane epistle in all literature. We may infer indeed that slaves were among those who insulted Him, since they were prominent among those who overawed Peter (John xviii. 18, 26). Yet the fact remains that nothing of the kind is written: we only know of two, the two occasions, on both of which He worked miracles for their relief.

Evidently he did not mean to ask of Jesus much exertion for such a person, and was astonished when the Lord Himself drew near. No one dreams of saying a word about any merit of the sufferer. He had become "dear" to his master, but that was a feeling which he does not expect to weigh with others. And indeed the national pride and scorn of the Jew is exhibited without a touch of exaggeration or caricature, in the sole merit that is ascribed to the centurion himself, worthy because he loveth our nation, and hath built our synagogue. It is otherwise, in the Acts, when a Christian writer describes the virtue of

Cornelius, a devout man and one that feared God with all his house. Thus everywhere these narratives welcome the minutest tests of their veracity.

What then are we to make of the assertion in St. Matthew that the centurion came, while St. Luke tells us that he "sent elders of the Jews" to plead for him, and afterwards "sent friends" (naturally, since he had not another official deputation in reserve) to stop the personal approach of Jesus?

No one is perplexed by a discrepancy of quite the same kind, where a miracle is not in question. In Matthew it is Salome who asks the chief places in the kingdom for her sons; in Mark it is James and John themselves (Matt. xx. 20; Mark x. 35); but we understand at once that her action was also theirs. And what the centurion did by delegates he did himself, even if he did not in his earnestness add personal expostulations at last. Lord Tennyson is not wrong in singing that—

"Down we swept and charged and overthrew . . .
In that world-earthquake Waterloo."

Strict discipline is an excellent school for character. From rugged and stern surroundings have often emerged the strongest and the most veracious characters; and thus it is by no mere accident that so many of the centurions, the minor officers of the New Testament, are favourably mentioned. The second is he who discerned beside the Cross the righteousness of Jesus, and was therefore led on, amid the supernatural incidents of His death, to confess that He was the Son of God. And in the Acts of the Apostles we have Cornelius, and Julius, who courteously entreated Paul. This man had been attracted to the light which Israel held up, with however weak a hand, among the nations. He was one of the many God-fearing Gentiles, penetrated with Hebrew convictions, and yet free from

Jewish prejudice, who formed the bridge by which Paul was presently to reach the Gentile world. And Jesus does not hold back, nor require any such importunity, as when He had to deal with a mere Gentile, "a Greek, a Syro-Phoenician." The level from which she needed to raise herself by a memorable effort, the centurion had already left behind.

It is interesting to remark the colour given by his own vocation to his religious convictions. Taught equally by his own obedience and authority, He thinks of health and sickness coming and going at the bidding of their Master. It is a high conception, and implies more perhaps than he realized, the harmony and discipline of nature, and its obedience to a presiding intelligence.

Hearing it, Jesus marvelled. Only once again this expression is used of Him, and then also from a moral impulse; He marvelled at the unbelief of His own nation (Mark vi. 6). It is impossible to regard such expressions as unreal. They must be taken with all those which tell of His asking questions, of His advance in wisdom, of the day which He knew not. The inference is cumulative in its weight, and the true lesson is of adoration for His intellectual as well as physical self-sacrifice, in that He condescended not only to suffer pain, but to be like His brethren in all privation, yet without sin. But it does not follow that Jesus ever erred. Error is not the result of ignorance alone, but only in conjunction with over-confidence, with the false assumption that one knows; and therefore it always involves some modicum of presumption. The chasm is deep and broad between a frank recognition of the ignorance which Christ avowed, and any imputation of error to Him who is the Truth, and the Word made flesh.

Jesus then marvelled, and proceeded to demolish the vain-glorious assumption of superiority which led the elders

to recommend this centurion merely as a client of their own. He, whom human faith astonished, since He was man, straightway, as anointed teacher, declares the secrets of eternity, the coming of many from all quarters of the world to a kingdom whose natural inheritors shall be cast out, not merely some of them, but "the children" in bulk and as an aggregate.

This is the first clear announcement of that spiritual revolution, the loss of the exclusive privilege of Judaism, which had been foreshadowed in the discourse at Nazareth, by the stress laid upon the many lepers and widows of Israel who were unrelieved, while the prophet was sent to a Syrian and to a woman of Sidon.

And this announcement is joined with the very first commendation of human faith, the faith of a Gentile soldier.¹

The approval distinctly accepts the rank of Master of all disease, and such a one as does not obtain healing by His intercession, but sends it by speaking the word only.

It may not assert His divinity in so logical a form as to forbid evasion. But no fact can be more significant than this, that the lowly Jesus never refuses any elevation whatever that is offered Him, except only the imputation of a goodness which is not divine. Any such goodness is inconceivable to Him.

Lastly, we observe in these two narratives the flexibility of our Saviour's manner, the tact, the adaptation to circumstances, which His followers covet, but rarely win.

The nobleman who would carry Him away to attend like a physician upon his child, must learn his place. Jesus obliges him to depart, trustfully, without a sign. But the centurion and the patronizing elders must learn quite a

¹ Even the word *πίστις* cannot accurately be said to occur before, although the idea, and the name of it, are implied in Mark i. 15 and Matt. vi. 30.

different lesson, the condescension of Christ to men of low estate. He will come to a Gentile and heal a slave. And yet there is an earnest humility which ought not to be constrained. Jesus yields to the urgency of lowliness, and perhaps feels that to insist further on a personal visit would be misconstrued by the bystanders. The servant is made whole at once.

G. A. CHADWICK.

CARDINAL NEWMAN.

NEARLY thirty years ago, Mr. Kingsley accused Dr. Newman of something like indifference to truth and sincerity. He brought into the field, in reply, both Newman's extraordinary power of effective statement, and his dexterity in seizing an opportunity. Newman virtually said, "Well, I will retrace the history of my mind, I will show how my opinions have come and grown; I will reveal the reaction created in my mind by all the events which have moulded my history; and then I will await the world's judgment upon my integrity." So there came out the *Apologia*, the history of his Religious Opinions. It was much more than an answer to Kingsley. It was an appeal, in a singularly effective form, as to the worth of the convictions which had mastered his life. In his perspicuous, nervous English, Newman told his tale, and allowed the story to ask its own questions and press its lessons on the public mind. Nobody thought any more about Kingsley's charges. The interest and the pathos of an unworldly and unique life alone remained. The book is one of those rare Confessions which men never will forget. Ever since then, Newman, who was remarkable enough before, has had a quite special hold of the interest of his generation.

Lately, at a great old age, the Cardinal passed away. Of

course his death once more called general attention to the efforts and experiences of his life. The man and his work have been canvassed on different sides. But the subject will yet bear, perhaps, to be rapidly reviewed.

Let me sketch the framework of the story. There are three main landmarks: his epoch of religious decision in 1816; his journey with Froude in 1832; his reception into the Church of Rome in 1845. He was born in 1801. Brought up under a Calvinistic theology, and under the influences commonly called Evangelical, both of them in a sincere, but not an extreme or rigid form, trained to "take great delight in reading his Bible," and brought into contact with books of practical religion, Newman's religious life, as life in earnest, began at the age of fifteen. The change was due to the conversation and preaching of a clerical friend—Mr. Mayers, I believe—and to the writings of Thomas Scott. "To the latter," he said, "I almost owed my soul." Long afterwards he spoke of this change as "the inward conversion of which I was conscious, and of which I still am more certain than that I have hands or feet." From this period he dates his impressions of dogma, especially of the doctrine of the Trinity, and a profound sense of the reality of the Divine existence, the facts of heaven and hell, divine favour and divine wrath.

Some other characteristics of his younger days should be noted. His mental development was precocious. He stood easily at the head of his schoolfellows. He took no part in games, but at ten or twelve he wrote little poems, masques, idylls, and the like, and later he brought out a weekly school newspaper. He has recorded that before the period of his religious decision, he had a strong tendency to superstitious fancies. Also, with a vivid realisation of the unseen world, he combined, as imaginative boys have often done, the disposition to question the reality of material things. His imagination ran upon magical powers. He

thought "life might be a dream, or I an angel, and all this world a deception, my fellow angels, by a playful device, concealing themselves from me, and deceiving me with the semblance of a material world." The strong impressions of his conversion also did something in the way of "isolating me from the objects which surrounded me, confirming me in my mistrust of the reality of material phenomena, and making me rest in the thought of two, and two only, supreme and luminously self-evident beings, myself and my Creator." Later, at the University, his thoughts took a course thus explained. "The material system seems to be economically or sacramentally connected with the more important, the spiritual; and of this conclusion the theory to which I inclined as a boy, the unreality of material phenomena, is the ultimate resolution." He found that the Fathers thought some fallen spirits are not so far fallen as others; and as Daniel speaks of each nation as having its guardian angel, so in 1837 Dr. Newman began to regard these less fallen spirits as the animating principles of many institutions and races. "Take England, with many high virtues, but a low Catholicism. It seems to me that John Bull is a spirit neither of heaven nor hell." I specify this thought because it reappears again and again in different writings.

In noting these things, I have anticipated to some extent. Now we come to his earlier Oxford life. He was undergraduate and scholar of Trinity, became in 1823 fellow of Oriel, which was then the college of independent and advanced thought, and in 1828 he became vicar of the Oxford parish of St. Mary's. He exchanged some of the tenets of his early Evangelicism for beliefs of a more "Church" type; but, at the same time, in his own opinion, the atmosphere of Oriel, as it then was, injured his faith, and inclined him towards theological "liberalism." But his liberalism was not destined to go far. "Illness and

bereavement," he says, awoke him in 1827; and other influences were about to come into play to intensify his preference for a very different line of things.

During this period Newman began to show his qualities. Modesty, and no doubt the consciousness of a high and steadfast mood, not often shared or comprehended by those around him, may have isolated him in the earlier years. He was "rather proud of Oriel than at home in it" when he first became a fellow. But ere long ties began to multiply for him, both with his seniors and his juniors. His life had been rather silent and solitary. But "things changed in 1826." His tongue was loosened, and he spoke spontaneously and without effort. Also he had become conscious of power; and that led him to lay his hand on men, to divine a mission for them, and to cheer them on to the accomplishment of it. He was becoming a centre of influence. At the same time Newman already began to manifest the capacity for a certain hardness and ruthlessness in steps which his views suggested to him; a certain summariness, too, in dismissing men out of his life when he found them not likely to co-operate; and this even in cases where old ties might have been expected to suggest more forbearance. Newman had in him an element of imperiousness, and it co-existed curiously enough with the undoubted kindness, and, in most ordinary senses, the unselfishness and humility of the man.

It was in this period too, especially from 1828, that Newman began to exert influence in the pulpit—as vicar of St. Mary's.

Some features of his preaching may be indicated. He contemplated men, as living in a dangerous world, assailed by temptation, and in too many cases trifling fatally with their opportunities and responsibilities. He had a vivid impression that Christian attainment, as it actually existed, was commonly precarious and low. Virtually he said to

men, "The redemption with which we rightly claim connection as baptized Christians, lays us under the gravest obligations, as it offers us the needed help, to depart from sin and to follow Christ. How far we are doing so shall be clear one day, but let us look to it now." He put this question in many forms ; but always two things remarkably appeared. On the one hand he apprehended the Lord's will as to the life of His followers with an intense simplicity. The ordinary objections, and compromises, and explainings away, seemed to have no power to divert or bewilder his steady contemplation of the high calling. On the other hand he dealt with men about it, as one who perfectly understood the ordinary way of thinking on these subjects, the moods, the temptations, the secularising influences of the average life. He put in play an extraordinary perception of ordinary life, its motives and its working, and unveiled its too common sincere estrangement from the aims and the rules of Christ. In all this the usual pulpit exaggerations were absent. His pictures of the common character and way of living came home to men as undeniably true. And always beyond, with whatever encouragements and hopes for the penitent, came the prospect of judgment. It was the austere and severe side, mainly, of the New Testament, which he set himself to compel men to take seriously.

These reasonings and remonstrances were conveyed in an English style, clear, nervous, characterised sometimes by a surface negligence, and by the freest use of unconventional language, carrying always the suggestion of a mind that lived its own life and saw from its own viewpoint. It was lighted up by just as much allusion and illustration as a master of sentences found to be conducive to put and press his case, and it rose into eloquence whenever some sublime or beautiful thought required it. The hearer felt a mind to which worldly interests were insigni-

ficant, and spiritual interests supreme, holding the most serious converse with his own mind about its history and its destiny.

Newman's style strikes one as a perfect instrument, wielded with the utmost ease and certainty. It is interesting to know that it received incessant correction whenever he had time to give it. I have heard that there was the most complete contrast between copy for the press supplied by Faber and by Newman. Faber's MS. was like copperplate, unblemished; Newman's was crowded with obliterations and corrections, running over the whole sheet.

A great speaker has described Newman in the pulpit, reading his sermons "with not much inflection and no action, but with a stamp and a seal upon him, a solemn sweetness and music in the tone—a completeness in figure and tone and manner which made even such a delivery singularly attractive." But the truth is Newman was able to produce effects by reading in a way peculiar to himself. In speaking he was not successful; he hesitated and was ineffective: but he could read so as to produce almost any pitch of effect. I have been told that in the lectures in which he attacked Achilli, the audience fairly quivered and shuddered under some of the passages. No doubt ordinarily in the pulpit he might impose upon himself more restraint.

I have mentioned that according to his own later opinion, Newman, about the third or fourth year of his Oriel fellowship, was verging towards "Liberalism." By liberalism he means that way of looking at things and judging of them which leads or tends to rationalism. One does not well know in what this "liberalism" consisted in his case; but it soon ceased. His religious earnestness was deepened by trials, and liberalism in politics and in the community was taking forms which speedily repelled him. Newman himself recalled as a kind of era, the part he took against Peel

in an Oxford election in 1829. But he also tells us, which is much more to the point, that he had come under the influence of Keble and of Froude. Each of these remarkable men impressed him in his own way—the one full of the poetry of Christian associations, as these grew up around the institutions and modes of thought of the early Church; the other charmed rather with the vision of the Church of the middle ages, as it dominated the world, beating down the pretensions of secular ambition, and bridling the wild beast, man, with a strong hand. Newman had already embraced many elements of his final scheme. Now it began to put itself firmly together in his mind. Now he began to read the Fathers regularly through; now he laid the foundations of his work upon the Arians; and now he began seriously to take antiquity as the true exponent of Christianity, and the basis of the Church of England.

The feelings with which Newman saw the stream running, as it then ran in secular and ecclesiastical politics, can readily be understood. That was the time when popular rights asserted themselves against old privileges, and seemed ready to sweep away all that stood on any ground *but* popular right. All institutions were put to trial, with this for a first principle, that no form of religious faith should claim advantage over another. The Church of England, as a great State institute, seemed liable to follow the fluctuations of the State, and it was directly threatened. The change in the constitution by which Roman Catholics became members of Parliament, told on the theory of legislation and on the instincts of public men. Parliament was no more a parliament of Established Churchmen. It was to legislate as representing all faiths, as well as all classes. Yet it still legislated for the Church; and the Crown, advised by the leaders of such a parliament, was the Church's supreme governor. What was to hinder the principle of no monopolies, of fair play for all parties, and so

forth, sweeping into the Church, making havoc of her creed and her institutions, and turning her into a mere reflex of parliamentary indifference? Men were already preaching up the unimportance of dogma, and advocating the widest liberty. How was the stream to be turned? How was the Church to be kept from being "liberalised?"

Froude's health was failing; in 1832 he went abroad, and Newman accompanied him. During this foreign sojourn the fermentation of Newman's mind went on, and his Church principles became his leading thought and his ruling passion. Away from the scene of conflict, and unable to strike in, he could still hear of the progress of principles he detested. The fearless decision of Froude's mind reinforced Newman's own convictions. He imagined to himself the Church of England swamped by liberalism; and as he mused the fire burned. A prophetic consciousness of a mission and a message grew on him, till he was weary with holding in. A trumpet call should wake the Church, and he would sound it. One clear strong principle being unheard, or only muttered in half applications, should rouse her to rise and roll back the invaders, furnishing her with courage and with weapons both. The thought thrilled through him that "deliverance is not wrought by the many but by the few." *Exoriare Aliquis* sounded in his ears. Froude and he began the *Lyra Apostolica*, and chose for motto the words of Achilles, "You shall know the difference, now that I am back again." Southey's *Thalaba* ("Remember destiny has marked thee from mankind") floated before his mind. As the consciousness of a message and the presentiment of a destiny increased it played strange pranks with his health, and words of augury escaped him which he could not himself interpret. To this period the composition of "Lead kindly light" belongs. He returned to England in July, 1833. All this explains a tone of conscious importance which rings through many

passages of Newman's life. He felt himself to be a man of destiny.

The situation he had to deal with was this. One evil dreaded was that the Church might be disestablished. For that in itself—except that he was ready to resist the Church's enemies on any issue—Newman cared little, and his friend Froude still less. But the steps taken, whether ending in that catastrophe or not, were likely to be guided by the mere politics of liberty and levelling, and the Church might be transmogrified on principles foreign to her constitution and her faith. On the other side the Church of England possessed immense potential resource, but she was discouraged, divided, bewildered. The Evangelical section, fresh from a remarkable experience of progress and success, had yet nothing in their principles to furnish a line on which to fight a great ecclesiastical battle. Besides, they could have no influence at Oxford. The old High Church had more prestige, and a stronger ecclesiastical tradition. But speaking generally their principles at this time were for them too much of a tradition, and too little of an inspiration. Yet sentiments of attachment to Church principles and Church piety, memories of an old and proud part in English life, traditions which had run for ages in Church channels, the consciousness of a type of feeling and character that was distinctive, and a fixed disdain for every way of religion that was not the Church's way—representatives of thoughts like these existed everywhere, only they were often not sure how much they could stand for. All parties were habituated to a parliamentary way of viewing things; they had become accustomed to live on compromises, and these now were breaking up.

Newman seemed to himself to know where the remedy lay. It lay in the realization of the claims and the true destiny of the Church of God. In the first place, Newman had always held Christian religion in the form of dogmatic

articles which expressed its essence. Next, he had moved steadily in the direction of emphasizing the place in Christianity of the visible Church, with her sacraments and institutions, as the channels of grace. That carried with it the notion that the Church is never suffered to go fatally wrong in her conception of Christianity. On the contrary, what she deliberately propounds as fundamental revealed truth, must have that character. That was the true Anglicanism; he was to maintain that it was. The grand thought of God's Church, freed and cleared of the compromises and infidelities of politicians and worldly wise men, was, he said, the proper inheritance of the Church of England; only, it had hardly ever been explicitly enough asserted; certainly it had never been carried consistently through. It had been lowered and corrupted by Protestantism and private judgment. Men, throwing themselves professedly on the Bible, really influenced by rationalism, had been judging and condemning the Church, which ought to be their teacher and mistress. It was time to sound a higher note. A great rally for the Church, not as unbelievers had debased her, but as God had planned her, was what the age needed. Unfortunately, at this point, it was impossible to escape one grave question. It was to be a rally for the Church; but men might say, Which Church? The claims of Rome came at once into the field. However, this could be met. The true way was to assert one Church of Christ, which, after long maintaining explicit unity, had suffered some loss by the separation of its branches. The branches were mainly three—Roman, Greek, and Anglican. The division was owned to be an evil for all parties. Still the Anglican was Christ's true Church in England; so also were the others, each on its own ground. All had suffered decay and come short, Rome sinning most deeply and offensively. Still each branch on its own ground was essentially Christ's true and one Church, for each was a

branch of the unity. And each should throw itself back on the true ideal, which might best be found in the undivided Church of the fourth and fifth centuries. That, at all events, was the message of the troubled times to the Church of England. First, she had to believe in herself; secondly, she had penitently to consider what faith and what works such belief implied; thirdly, she had to assert herself, by claims indeed, but also by life, by service, and by sacrifice, as Christ's only sacred ordinance for ministering truth and grace, and, in His name and strength, defy the world. God had set her forth to be the sacred ark for men, and the battle was the Lord's. Her business was to rise to her own calling—to be true to herself and Him.

I will not dwell on the immense attractiveness which this scheme has for many devout minds born within a hierarchical Church. It had also an immense recommendation in that it was so conveniently adapted to the present distress. That is, it at once singled out the Established Church as the Church which had the "Apostolical Succession," separated her case from that of every other, and supplied the most convenient ground for defending her and all that was hers against "liberalism." Yet, let it be remembered, that for Newman, and for the movement so far as Newman inspired it, the deepest thought of all was *bona fide* this, the calling of the Church to be out and out true to her Lord and devoted to her Lord. It was because this was believed to be authentically in the movement that so genuine an awakening of religious life followed in its train.

And it must be said that this deeper and better principle in the movement found one of its strongest supports in Newman personally. His remarkable preaching was going on with growing power. The unworldliness of his life, the sincerity and elevation of his conversation, joined with his ability, his sympathetic power, and the passion with which he held his principles, led to his being all but worshipped.

This, then, was in Newman's mind the heart of the business. But in the form of it came an immense and startling development of doctrines and practices alleged to have the sanction of the early centuries, tending generally to emphasize the highest views of Church and sacraments, and lying in the direction which had always been associated with Rome. Points of this kind, which, with particular English divines, had been matters of theoretic approval, or had been occasionally indicated as defensible, were now brought to the front, systematised, reduced to practice, and inculcated. This was all in the line of that *via media* which, as against (ultra) Protestants on one side, and against Romanists on the other, was set forth as the proper glory of the Church of England. Newman and party pressed on into the wide patristic field, not yet clear as to all that they might find, but assured that all would be triumphantly right, and that all would reveal more and more satisfactorily the true genius of the Church of England.

It was Newman's point to maintain that in all this he had not taken up new ground but old, approved by great Anglicans. I shall presently have to say a word on this part of the question.

I have spoken of the deep fountains of faith and fervour from which Newman, and many of those he influenced, drew. But there was, of course, an immense variety of elements in the great rally for Church principles and practices—conceived on this type—which went on, with Oxford for its centre, among the younger clergy and the cultivated classes. The principles preached, and the practices that embodied them, proved able to gather about them a good deal of speculation and a good deal of poetry. They were able to bear up the eagerness, prejudices, interests of a great party. They could combine with a great deal of devoutness, with a great deal of sentimentalism, and with a great deal of passion. You could fight with them and play

with them, you could be meek or arrogant with them, pious or unscrupulous. It is a great thing to have a cause which lends itself to the argumentativeness of the disputations, and the enthusiasm of the excitable, and the aspirations, or even superstitions, of the devout. The work went prosperously on; Newman has confessed the "fierce" exhilaration of that time; the coach was driven with an almost rollicking confidence; and when sober churchmen shook their heads, they were answered with a fresh whirl of the whip, and a new flourish from the guard. It went on for seven years—"in a human point of view," Newman says, "the happiest years of my life."

Then, in 1839, a ghost arose; a great dread came shuddering over Newman. It passed, but by and by it returned again. Was the Church of England Christ's true Church in the sense of those principles on which Newman and his friends relied? Did not those principles require something very different? Did they not point, in fact, to Rome? It came to this: the objections to the Church of England seemed to grow in weight the more that Newman considered the scope of his principles, yet this was not conclusive, for there were also objections against the claims of Rome. Against Rome Newman and his friends conceived they could plead antiquity. Common Protestantism, in their opinion, fell far short of that standard; but Rome went beyond it, corrupting Christian truth and Christian worship, as these are seen in the Church of Athanasius and Chrysostom, by unwarrantable additions of her own. The additions could hardly be denied. But were they unwarrantable? Eventually Newman came to think of them as not unwarrantable. The theory of development came here to his aid. The Church has no power to add, in the strict sense, but she has immense powers of developing. The primitive truth and worship were seeds which were meant to grow. The active human mind, stirred by revelation,

must move, it ever moves; but the Church's part is to control the process. She chastens the petulance of erring minds, and she consecrates those growths which she judges to be genuine and authentic developments. What had been condemned as corruption, might pass as development. Newman's doubts ended in the decision to enter the Church of Rome in October, 1845. He had not hurried the final step; and the pain and weariness of the long debate had been patiently and piously sustained.

Newman's impression of the Church of England, when he looked back from his new standing ground, was not complimentary. "When I looked back upon the poor Anglican Church, for which I had laboured so hard, . . . and thought of all our attempts to dress it up doctrinally and esthetically, it seemed to me to be the veriest of nonentities. . . . 'I went by, and lo! it was gone; I sought it, but its place could nowhere be found.'"

Was this step of Newman's the legitimate result of the principles which his friends and he had so rigorously maintained? Many men of high character and great accomplishments refused to follow him here; and some of them since then have expressed their mind on the whole history. I will venture to say what it is that I miss, when they come to the point of regretting Newman's departure, and posing as more considerate men who have better kept their feet. I want to know how far they go with their Church principles, and with their deference to antiquity. Newman was a man who was in earnest with principles, and the question is how far they also were so. It is one thing to be of opinion that the visible Church was intended to fulfil essential functions in the economy of salvation, and that the ancient and undivided Church is very likely to have been right in its conception of Christianity, and in its ways of understanding the Bible, so that it may be counted a comfort and advantage to have the ancient Church on one's side,

and so that the Church of England, so far as it agrees with antiquity, may be held to be the stronger for the agreement. To hold all this is simply one form of the exercise of private judgment; and in that case it warrants no man to take any very high or peculiar position. It is another thing to hold that the visible Church has been commissioned and qualified to ascertain for us, in what it finds essential, the meaning of God's revelation, as well as to be the channel of grace and salvation; that it is in all ages Holy Apostolic Catholic and ONE; that we are to submit our private judgment, and are never to separate ourselves from its teaching and its ministration; that this was true of the undivided Church, and that in substance it must hold of Christ's visible Church to-day. This was the faith of the movement, and Newman found himself in presence of questions rising out of it. I find no sufficient account of how those who declined to follow him extricate themselves upon these questions.

But then—all the more if any one is disposed to think that Newman, when he went to Rome, interpreted his own principles aright, or at least, as little wrong as the oppression of circumstances permitted—one must smile at the course he had been taking all these years; and one must admit the censure it suggests upon the good conduct of his understanding generally. It is all but ludicrous to think with what confidence he and his friends had taken in hand to instruct the world as to the foundations of Christian faith, and most particularly (for nothing was more prominent) as to the true and safe ground for the Church of England as against the Church of Rome. In the first place, they had not understood the range of their own principles. Able and accomplished as many of them were, they were far behind in theology proper. They had not worked out the theological problems on which they pronounced. Neither could they point to any great theological school

in which those problems had been coherently wrought out. Many English theologians, whether for argument's sake, or as matter of conviction, had adopted or hazarded principles not unlike theirs. But the unsystematic character which English theological literature prefers had prevented any clear adjustment of results. Newman explains all this himself in the preface to the *Prophetical Office of the Church*, published in 1836. And he says that book was of a tentative and empirical character, though he "fully trusted his statements of doctrine would turn out true and important." Surely those who undertake to guide the world and the Churches should know first the range of their own principles. But, next, neither did they know their facts. They assumed antiquity as the standard. But what antiquity said in detail they knew very imperfectly. This also Newman himself plainly states. If it be said in excuse that the writings of the Fathers are so vast, that is the concern of those who take them for a rule. A man is bound to know what he authoritatively prescribes. As to this, however, Newman had another plea to offer. He says the Anglican writers misled him. He had assumed that the ancient teaching was correctly represented in the writings of those great Church of England men who had fought with the papists on the ground of patristic authority, or had brandished the Fathers at the Puritans and Nonconformists. And so he tells us that when he began himself to see antiquity with other eyes, he became "angry with the Anglican divines. He thought they had taken him in." But whatever their faults in this respect, the whole statement shows that here again Newman and his friends mistook the case. They mistook the attitude of their own divines. All the Protestant Churches claimed some benefit from the Fathers. It suited the Church of England to lay special stress on this, and with the development of High Church views in the seventeenth century Anglican asser-

tions about antiquity grew stronger. But, except in the case of a few extreme men, even those who went far, revealed in doing so only one side of their minds. The bias of their school enabled them to advance as far as they felt disposed, and some of them felt disposed to advance a long way, in the line of patristic thought and feeling. But there remained behind the Protestant tendency to use their own judgment and apply Scripture authority, so as to stop when antiquity threatened to carry them too far. Antiquity in the Church of England has generally been antiquity *cum grano*. To construe the whole body of writers who have offered to make good that Church's cause from antiquity, as meaning to commit her, out and out, to the traditional principle with all its consequences, was simply a mistake. Dr. Newman was chargeable not merely with ignorance of the range of his own principles, not merely with ignorance of the facts on which he claimed to rely, but he mistook the true consent of the divines of his own Church. He had selected one school; and even as to them he overlooked the thing about them which was *most* Anglican, *viz.*, their virtual adherence to two rules of faith.

ROBERT RAINY.

(*To be concluded.*)

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